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of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga. Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei, who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

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To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many dimensions, which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose. The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or historic songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in making this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taanga* are used for songs in general; *tauaalo* for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua*, a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

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leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

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often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk, hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director and poet was a man. Spectators showed their approval of the movements of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *maululu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *maululu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments concerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a heathen festival), *eitu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *hea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuaeitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).
>
> Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

[11] Possibly this is a misspelling of *liki*. See page 67.

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where he left her to have her mats taken off, and her usual dress put on; after which she amused herself in conversation with the women. In the mean time a feast was prepared for the evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat down to receive their portions, which the generality reserved to take home with them; the lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity, consumed theirs on the spot. After this the cava was shared out and drunk. The musicians (if so they can be called) next sat down at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga, in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held by men who also held baskets of sand to receive the ashes. The musical instruments consisted of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to produce, held by the middle, and one end being struck on the ground, different notes according to the intended tune (all the knots being cut out of the bamboo, and one end plugged up with soft wood). The only other instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on which a man struck with two sticks, one in each hand, to regulate the time. The music was an accompaniment to dancing, which was

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sit down. The mataboole, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language*, and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi tóccalèw eio chi toccalèw ea me fafángo eio manáve távato, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

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175 " which Feenow got ready for our entertain-
648 " ment began. As a prelude to them, a band
545 " of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated
535 " themselves before us, in the centre of the
" circle composed by the numerous spectators,
175 " the area of which was to be the scene of the
648 " exhibitions. Four or five of this band had
545 " pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or
533 " six feet long, each managed by one man, who
[534] " held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper
" end open, but the other end closed by one
" of the joints. With this close end the per-
" formers kept constantly striking the ground,
" though slowly, thus producing different notes
" according to the different lengths of the in-
" struments, but all of them of the hollow or
" base sort; to counteract which a person kept
" striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece
" of the same substance, split and laid along
" the ground, and by that means furnishing a
" tone as acute as those produced by the others
" were grave. The rest of the band, as well as
" those who performed upon the bamboos, sung
" a slow and soft air, which so much tempered
" the harsher notes of the above instruments,
" that no by-stander, however accustomed to
" hear the most perfect and varied modulations
" of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the
" vast power and pleasing effect of this harmony.

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" accidentally to be interrupted, they never
" found the smallest difficulty in recovering the
" proper place of the dance or song: and their
" perfect discipline was in no instance more re-
" markable than in the sudden transitions they
" so dexterously made from the ruder exer-
" tions and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and
" gentlest movements.

" About eleven o'clock (in the morning),
" they began to exhibit various dances, which
" they called *mai*. The music consisted at first
" of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down,
" and amidst them were placed three instru-
" ments, which we called drums, though very
" unlike them. They are large cylindrical
" pieces of wood or trunks of trees, from three
" to four feet long, some twice as thick as an
" ordinary sized man, and some smaller, hol-
" lowed entirely out, but close at both ends,
" and open only by a chink about three inches
" broad, running almost the whole length of
" the drums: by which opening the rest of
" the wood is certainly hollowed, though the
" operation must be difficult. This instrument
" is called *naffa;* and, with the chink turned
" towards them, they sit and beat strongly upon
" it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood,
" about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist:
" by which means they produce a rude, though

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175 " loud and powerful sound. They vary the
648 " strength and rate of their beating at different
545 " parts of the dance, and also change their
535 " tones, by beating in the middle, or near the
533 " end of their drum.

[534] " The first dance* consisted of four ranks of
[299] " twenty-four men each, holding in their hands
" a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above
" two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small
" oblong paddle: with these, which are called
" *pagge*, they make a great many different mo-
" tions, such as pointing them toward the
" ground on one side, at the same time inclin-
" ing their bodies that way, from which they
" were shifted to the opposite side, in the same
" manner; then passing them quickly from one
" hand to the other, and twirling them about
" very dexterously; with a variety of other ma-
" nœuvres, all which were accompanied by
" corresponding attitudes of the body. Their
" motions were at first slow, but quickened as
" the drums beat faster; and they recited sen-
" tences in a musical tone the whole time, which
" were answered by the chorus; but at the end
" of a short space they all joined, and finished
" with a shout.

" After ceasing about two or three minutes,
" they began as before, and continued with

* This is the dance called *mée too buggi*.

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In the account given by Cook, there is only mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mëé low folla*, and *méë too buggi;* but there are two others of some note, called *héa* and *óbla:* the first is one of the most ancient dances of Tonga, and is practised only by chiefs and superior matabooles; and is a dance very difficult to execute, not only on account of the accompanying gesture, but also of the singing. The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece: this is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping the time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the mean while perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with the arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) of a manly and noble spirit, consistent with the mind and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

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other dances; but the arrangement of the movements is very different: the whole dance is considerably more quick throughout, and there are several other motions of the feet and postures of the body. The night dance which Captain Cook saw (the *méë low folla*) is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied throughout with Tonga songs: the rest belong to Hamoa and Neuha, and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs; for although the dance called *hea* is considered a very ancient Tonga one, there is not much doubt of its being of Hamoa extraction, and accordingly most of its songs are in that language. The *méë too buggi* is a Nuha * dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa. The principal public dances are the four following:

Méë low folla, i. e. a dance with the arms outspread: a night dance: it is also called *bo méë*.

Méë too buggi, i. e. a dance standing up with paddles: a day dance.

Hea; sometimes a day dance, but mostly a night dance,

Oola; a night dance.

These public exhibitions of dances naturally lead us to speak of their music and poetry: with

* The islands of Nuha lie between Hamoa and Vavaoo, and are known to navigators by the names of Traitor's island, and Cocos island.

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534 regard to their musical instruments, they have already been mentioned, except the *fango-fango*, which is a sort of flute blown by the nose: it is always filled by the right nostril, the left being closed with the thumb of the left hand. There are generally five holes for the fingers, and one underneath for the thumb; though some have six holes for the fingers, and others only four. The sound of them is soft and grave: they are only used as an accompani-
533 ment to one species of song called *oóbe*. At
535 all concerts where there is no dancing, the singers sit during the whole time. The following are the different kinds of song used among them.

Low fólla; this is only used with the dance so called, and is in the Tonga language.

Láve; of a similar character with the above sung without dancing, but accompanied with motions of the hands; also in the Tonga language.

[191] *Langi méë too buggi;* that which is always used with the dance so called: in the Hamoa language.

Héa; only used with the dance thus named: sometimes Tonga, but mostly Hamoa.

Hiva; similar to the above, but sung without dancing: they call European singing *hiva*, because probably the *hiva* is very seldom ac-

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I have not the words of the song sung to this tune; but it started,

Te tau talanoa atu ki he tau, We shall talk about the war.

Music has shown a very fruitful fusion of the old and the new, the native and the foreign. Native musicians compose pieces that are truly characteristic of the Tongan genius, but that have range, variety, and expression greatly influenced and improved by contact with foreign music. Two tasks await the musically competent observer, a thorough examination of the genuine native music, and the collection of modern compositions. Such a collection might be made the basis of a work having popular interest and artistic merit, enabling a talented artist to do for the South Sea islander what Miss Edna Thomas is doing for the American Negro, and Frances Nickana for the Indian. There is a wealth of musical and dramatic talent among the islanders that justifies the hope that an interpreter may arise from among themselves. The Tongans have excellent brass bands and choirs. The bass singing of the men is admirable.

The music of the dance frequently is furnished by the voices of the dancers. Very often the dance is accompanied by a body of singers apart from the dancers, called *langi*, or *langi tua*. The term *langi* is applied also to the tune. The singing and dancing are accompanied and timed by clapping the hands or beating a drum. The older form of drum consisted of a bundle of bamboos, wrapped round with a mat. An empty oil-drum, with a piece of hide stretched over the open end, is often used today. On unimportant occasions, as for rehearsals, an empty kerosene tin may be used. This humble germ of an orchestra, skillfully beaten, has a note that is not at all unmusical.

While the number that may participate is unlimited, a *lakalaka* consists usually of about thirty or forty performers. The performers move only a few feet, generally, in any direction; most of the time they face one way, but may make turns to right or left or rear, in endless variety and complexity of the movements. During the celebration of the Jubilee of the Tupou College, Nukualofa, in 1917, performances were given by a ballet from Mua, which must have numbered about two hundred dancers, arranged in rows alternately of women and men. These performers staged pieces of great length and complexity. The lines would turn, divide, front and back rows change positions, and go through a number of evolutions, hands and feet keeping time to the music. All this was done with the greatest precision and beauty, and within limits that would not have been beyond the capacity of a moderate-sized theater stage.

At the same celebrations a party from Hihifo performed what was literally a *lakalaka*, marching. A long line of performers moved, with a sort of waltz step, slowly across the green in a serpentine file, keeping time with double thuds of the bamboo, now on this side of their feet, and now

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the movements of the slowly-advancing winding line, were peculiarly effective. Labillardière (27) mentions a kind of orchestra of thirteen musicians with bamboos which they struck on the ground.

Sipa is a dance in which the movements are like those of the *lakalaka*, but the accompanying music is like a chanty (*tauaalo*). (See p. 121.)

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle. (I have seen the suggestion made, but I forget by whom, that the reason of the challenging gestures and insults which brought on one or more single combats before the battle became general, in primitive warfare may have had a religious motive, so that the enemy might be guilty of the *hybris* of striking the first blow.) The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors draw closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. The inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the performers' faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about ankles and wrists—adjuncts used in all dances.

Another very popular dance is the *mauluulu*, said to be introduced from Samoa. This is a women's sitting dance, though sometimes a line of men standing behind keep time with various movements. The music may be provided by drum, voices, or both. The performers themselves usually sing. The women sit cross-legged, and keep time with slight movements

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535 585 priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at times by sprawling on the ground.

527 766 Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

533 535 Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I have seen the nose flute (*fangufangu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

533 Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakaniua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

Falaolongo [1]

533 539
Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[2]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai [3]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[4]
I stood by Huafaikitama [5]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[6]
I remember Veingangana [7]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafale;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[8]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaòatokotoko?[9]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[10]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[11]
By the road in the midst of the mountain,
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[12]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[13]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[14]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[15]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[16]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[17]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words [18]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa [19]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

Song of Fishers [1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[2]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[3]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[4]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[5]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[6]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[7]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[8]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[9]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally. "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. E homo ae hui a Lafi: The needle of Lafi will be parted with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing that one proposes to do will be accomplished. 539 412

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134 Haihaija Kae heheia: Bound up yet wandering about. 539 422 735 556

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessaries of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.)

135. Hange ha fala kuo fofola: Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea, also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. Hange ha lali foa: Like a cracked drum. 539 422 829

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place.

137. Nifi eni kae nafa e: Little this but great that, that is, this is nothing to what there is going to be. 539 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. Nimo i talafau: Hidden in the *talafau*. 539 285

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaono*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 46 561 562 **281. Tangata e taha oe vaka:** One man in the boat.

Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.

539 501 534 **282. Tata tuli vaka:** Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.

It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred [461] the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful conclusion.

539 57 264 [501] **283. Ta tefito mei ama:** Strike root from the leeward canoe.

This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers, largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinailele and the bones of the two Maui, Atalanga and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 57 183 **284. Tefua a vaka Lautala:** Gathering together of the boats of Lautala.

This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we [648] have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the [501] meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tapa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction. 554 826

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen. 721 534

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*toa*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries' from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort. 572

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive. 728

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle. 701

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'a*, differs from the word for the tree, *toa*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is [137] [824]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongatsboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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gether like beads, their graceful limbs covered only with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element, when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

Their musick is not so pleasing. The principal instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture, and laid lengthways upon two pieces of wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bambooes, of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened and bound to the end of them, are struck against the barrel, and produce a sound according to the length of the stick. Of these drums they have two or three; which, with the bambooes and the singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively than a plantive air, but rather monotonous. These dances are often performed in particular spots where there are large trees. To these places the young

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old alike have simply flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

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Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

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The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

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There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

[534]

[412]

For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

[356]

Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1616]

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island lies in lat. 16° 10′.

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13th.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began

[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

126 533 the music down phrase by phrase, because they were incapable of picking up the melody where they had left it; the only way was to make them begin each time at the beginning, and carry the score a few notes further with every repetition. Moreover, it was discovered that Phineas seldom sang the same phrase in exactly the same notes, for the melody is overlaid with innumerable turns and ornaments at the will of the singer, and these 126 are impossible to represent in our notation. Two hours at a time being as much as writer or singer could stand with safety, the work took several days, but, thanks to the good sense of Phineas and the patience of Webber, a valuable collection was ultimately made. For the notes I am, of course, indebted to Amherst Webber.

I. THE "ME'E-TU'U-BAKI."

535 534 A good drawing of this dance is to be found in *Cook's Voyages*, and, as Mariner also has described it, I need say no more than that it is performed by men, drawn up in one line or two, who perform certain slow and stately evolutions, accompanying the music by twirling a light wooden instrument carved in the shape [533] of a paddle. The rhythm is set by three large wooden drums, and a number of men sitting round them sing the words, which consist generally of a single phrase, 533 endlessly reiterated. Unlike the *Otuhaka*, the *Me'e-tu'u-baki* is not contrapuntal, and, though a number of voices maintain one note while the others sing the melody, it may be said to be sung in unison. To the European ear, despite its marked character, it is indescribably monotonous, for the words have no meaning, and the phrase is repeated for twenty minutes at a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

white cowry, *Ovulum ovum*, and a smaller one of the same family, the *Ovulum verrucosum* of conchologists. The former is employed in decorating the prows of canoes, and also the projecting ends of the outer ridge-pole of houses. The latter are strung into armlets or necklaces. All the other representatives of the cowry family, though numerous, are also found in abundance, but are not devoted to any useful purposes.

There are several extensive beds of the pearl oyster; but these have never been cultivated, nor has any pearl fishery been established. The natives do not obtain the oyster for the sake of the pearls; but merely as an edible. These, however, are frequently met with, and are usually of good quality and lustre. We have ourselves taken as many as seventeen pearls, three of which were of moderate size, out of one small oyster. There is no doubt but that, with proper attention, these pearl oyster beds would prove a valuable source of revenue to the people. The largest of the shells are cut up, and ingeniously fashioned into a great variety of native fishing-hooks; while in other cases the shell is highly polished, and worn as a breastplate.

The trumpet shell, (*Triton variegatus*,) is, as the name indicates, made by the natives into horns or trumpets. These are used chiefly in canoes, when voyaging, to give warning of their departure or arrival. The only preparation of the shell consists in drilling a small hole through the spiral end. The sound of a good one may be heard at a distance of several miles. In the event of a sudden squall, driving any small fishing canoes far away from the land, it is usual for the friends of the missing ones to man several canoes, and to start

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

237 534 202 off in different directions, sounding these trumpet-shells, for the warning and guidance of the lost fishermen, should they have survived the storm.

226 262 A goodly variety of the more common edible shell-fish, supplies the natives with one of their principal daily articles of diet. Cockles and whelks are plentiful, in some localities, and are cooked in a variety of ways, so as to be made very palatable even to an epicure.

Crustaceous animals, such as shrimps, prawns, cray-fish, lobsters, and crabs, are abundant in different islands, and they are sought after and esteemed by the natives as articles of food. Several sorts of sea-slugs are also eaten, and among these the *bêche-de-mer* of commerce; but it is only found in small quantities, and of inferior size to those so largely obtained in Fiji. The cuttle-fish, or *feke*, as it is called in Tonguese, so despised by the fishermen on our English coasts, is by them very highly esteemed. Indeed, a dish of *vaihu feke*, or cuttle-fish soup, well prepared by a Tonguese cook, would [252] make even a Soyer envious, and would, undoubtedly, call forth a whole chapter of flowery eloquence fully to describe its merits.

A great variety of fish contributes extensively to the daily support of the islanders. Of the larger sorts that are eaten by them, we may name the albicore, bonito, ray, sword-fish, and shark. There is, besides, a good assortment of rock-fish. These 226 different kinds of fish are taken by lines, nets, and spearing, in all of which modes of fishing the people are ingenious and expert. The favourite method, however, with the Tonguese, is that of fishing with nets. In the manufacture of different descriptions of these, they equal any civilized

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

tain kept the people in awe, and for a time no signs of the coming change could be seen. 797 634

At length two men, called Faone and Lube, yielded to their convictions, and avowed themselves Christians. They knew full well the risk that was incurred, but, in dependence upon Divine aid, they made the venture; and were prepared for encountering cheerfully all hazards. With no Missionary near them, nor any Christian teacher, to give them advice or shelter; these men stand out from the thousands of heathens around them, and in the face of an angry monarch, proclaim themselves followers of Jesus Christ. What a triumph, and how glorious were its results!

They were immediately summoned to the presence of the chief, and with many threats were commanded to desist from prayer. They knew not but that the club of their autocrat master would lay them in the dust; but they, nevertheless, boldly refused to recant from the religious profession they had made. Happily the wrath of the heathen was partially restrained. The persons of these two men were not touched, but they were forcibly driven away, from lands, and wives, and friends. Meantime the islands of Haabai had received the Gospel, and thither, therefore, Faone and Lube went for safety. There also the heathen greatly persecuted them; but they remained steadfast through it all. They were proof against open persecution, but would they equally resist bribery, and bland persuasions, to deny their Heavenly Lord and Master? Let us see. 797 798

The arrival at Haabai of a canoe from Vavau is heralded by the rapid roll of the wooden drums. Part of its business is to bring a message from the offended Ulukalala to Faone and Lube. They are 797 634 [202] [534] [203]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

grounds. While standing at the mouth of the cave, I picked up a beautiful harp-shell, which species, I was told, was formerly worshipped by the people of Makave, a village only a few miles from this place.

Sunday, 27th.—Departed in the boat, about an hour before daylight, on a tour to all the out-islands of this group, to preach, and meet the church members, this being the time of quarterly visitation. We passed through the beautiful boat passage at Bagaimotu just as the sun rose. The scenery appeared most enchanting in the calmness and light of the morning. We reached Oloua about 7 A.M., and immediately after landing beat the *lali*, or wooden drum, for Divine service. I afterwards spoke individually to each of the members. About mid-day we sailed to Ofu. Having preached, I met all the male members. Held a public prayer-meeting in the evening by lamp light.

Monday, 28th.—Neither my boatmen nor myself obtained much sleep, although greatly needed after yesterday's work. Beat the *lali* at sun-rise to assemble the female members of society, and spoke to them individually as their state seemed to require. I must here observe that, although in all the classes I observed a great sameness of experience and expression, there can be no mistake as to the real conversion of numbers of the people. Still, many have the form without the power, and we certainly want more heart-work among our native converts. At the conclusion of the classes, we held a short public prayer-meeting. Before leaving for the next place, this affectionate people brought us tangible expressions of their love, in the shape of baked pigs, yams, oil, and sugar-cane, for the use of myself and boatmen. A portion of

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Tobutabu] 131 114

from the usual tracks of navigation. The charts are often at fault, both as to the locality and names of many islands.

The day being fine, we experienced very little difficulty in landing. We were met by the chief teacher, and a number of the people, with whom we set off across the sands. The walk was rather fatiguing; but we arrived safely at the town, and were immediately conducted to Maatu, styled Tui-Niua, or King of Niua. The remarkably narrow limits of his dominions evidently never troubled his mind, or distressed those of his subjects. The humblest of the company present moved along with a natural dignity and grace, that any courtier or monarch might have envied. We have already had occasion also to show that, although few in number, and a "feeble folk" in many respects, yet these Niuans were not wanting in stirring enterprise or true courage.

Even before we reached the town, the great wooden drums had been sounding, to give notice of our arrival, and to summon the entire population from their daily occupations, in preparation for the various religious services about to be held. There being no safe anchorage off the island, the visits of the Missionaries are necessarily very brief; while such a multiplicity of onerous duties devolve upon the visitors, that the greatest expedition must be observed, and they can scarcely find time either to eat or sleep.

Let us look for a moment at the work to be done. No visit from a Missionary had been received by Niua Tobutabu for several years. The attempt had been made in the previous year, but failed through the violence of the sea and wind. The doings therefore of the teachers over a considerable period of time had to be reviewed. The lists of church members

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

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in the direction of Houma, which is only some three miles distant.

April 3rd.—The firing, yesterday, was only kept up upon Houma whilst the king's party reconnoitred in different directions; but to-day the heathen have made a sally from the fort. A severe engagement has taken place. The firing was heard very plainly here at Hihifo. Several of the Houmans have been killed, and many wounded; but none of the loyalists have been injured, although the firing from the heathen was heavy and long continued. The death-drum has been beating all the afternoon. We have also heard heavy firing in the direction of the Bea fort, but do not yet know what has been transpiring there. We learn that the Mission ship has arrived from Vavau and Haabai.

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April 5th.—The Missionaries began their Annual Meeting this day. The chief subject of conversation was the heartrending condition of the country; and it was resolved that the resident Missionaries should remain at their posts, notwithstanding the danger and risk involved in so doing; because, being on the spot, their influence may be exerted to counteract the evils inseparable from the present state of affairs, and they can watch for any favourable opportunity to secure a peace. A review of the state of our Mission in Tongatabu, up to the period when the war commenced, showed that it had never been in a more encouraging or flourishing condition, whether spiritually or financially considered. Tonga, hitherto last and least, in Missionary successes in these parts, now stood as high as Vavau or Haabai, and, in some respects, even surpassed those groups. With this fact before us, we could not

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

798 669 728 the men to be detained within his own camp during the night, where they received the most hospitable entertainment. But what formed the crowning glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before the great Jehovah.

798 669 727 728 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of their property should be destroyed or injured. At the same time, the town was to be held by a party of the king's men, until his further pleasure should be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of its fortifications.

797 On the following Sunday, I visited the fort, arrangements having been made for holding a religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished to be present. Before commencing the service, the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley [202] [534] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public worship, I preached to a very large congregation of half-enlightened heathens. At this single service above one hundred persons formally renounced idolatry; and, from that day, regular Christian means of grace were established in Houma.

798 669 726 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

PAN-PIPES IN POLYNESIA

By Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck).
Director of Bishop Museum.

Introduction.

PAN-PIPES are primitive wind instruments that derive their popular name from the Greek myth that they were invented by the god Pan. Pan was represented as having the legs and sometimes the ears and horns of a goat. In Arcadia, he was supposed to wander through the forests attended by nymphs and playing upon the syrinx* or Pan's pipes. The instrument consists of a number of short hollow reeds graduated in length to provide a musical scale and bound together side by side with the lower ends stopped and the upper ends open and level for playing with the lips.

The instruments are widely spread for they are also recorded from Peru and Oceania. The distribution in Oceania has been summarized by Andersen (1) from the instruments figured by Edge-Partington (2) in his *Ethnological Album of the Pacific Islands.* The islands so recorded comprise New Guinea, Admiralty, New Britain, Solomons, New Hebrides, Fiji, and Tonga. Both in New Guinea and Melanesia, the instruments vary in different districts or different islands in the same group. They may consist of a single row of reeds or a double row in which the reeds of the back row are open at both ends. In all these Pacific islands, the reeds consist of lengths of bamboo in which the natural node forms the stopped lower ends of the single-row instruments and the front reeds of the double-row instruments. The reeds vary in diameter as well as length, the shorter reeds being of less diameter than the longer ones. They also vary in the number of reeds and the methods by which they are bound together.

* The alternative name was given after an Arcadian nymph, Syrinx, daughter of the river Ladon; and on Pan falling in love with her and pursuing her, in order to escape him she was, at her own request, turned by the gods into the reed called syrinx by the Greeks. This reed was thereafter used by Pan for the fashioning of his pipes.

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 The reeds may be regularly graduated in length from the
171 longest to the shortest or they may be arranged in a sequence in which the lower ends present an irregular appearance.

Though Tonga is the only Polynesian group figured by
534 Edge-Partington, pan-pipes were also known in Samoa. A
127 solitary instrument in the British Museum has been wrongly
[114] attributed to New Zealand. I saw four Tongan instruments in the British Museum and one in the Berne Museum. As I took photographs and notes on the five instruments, I give the details here to place the Tongan technique on record.

TONGA

The authenticity of pan-pipes in Tonga is placed beyond doubt by Cook (3, 3rd vol., pl. 21, fig. 5), who saw the instrument being played and figured a specimen, which Andersen reproduced in his work. The instrument figured is evidently the one I saw in the British Museum attributed to Cook. The other three in the British Museum were collected on a voyage of *H.M.S. Herald.* The instrument in the Berne Museum was collected by Webber, the artist with Cook's
534 third expedition. The five instruments are shown in fig. 1
128 and the number of reeds, length in inches of the shortest and longest reeds, and the width of the instruments are given in the accompanying table. The British Museum specimens are grouped together under the number 56/7-9/6 and the Berne Museum instrument is numbered Fr. 22.

534 The reeds consist of varying lengths of bamboo arranged in a single row with the upper open ends in a straight line and the lower closed ends forming an irregular line except in the smallest instrument (*e*). The open ends are trimmed both back and front into a concave curve, the curve on one surface being usually deeper than the other. The reeds are bound with two horizontal rows of coconut-husk fibre, an upper row a little below the open ends and a lower row just above the level of the closed end of the shortest reed.

[128] The instruments in fig. 1 are drawn in the position in which they were photographed by me with the shortest reed on the right, but I have no information as to whether or not this was the position when played. However, when held in this position, the deeper curves of the open ends are toward the mouth and one may therefore assume that this was the

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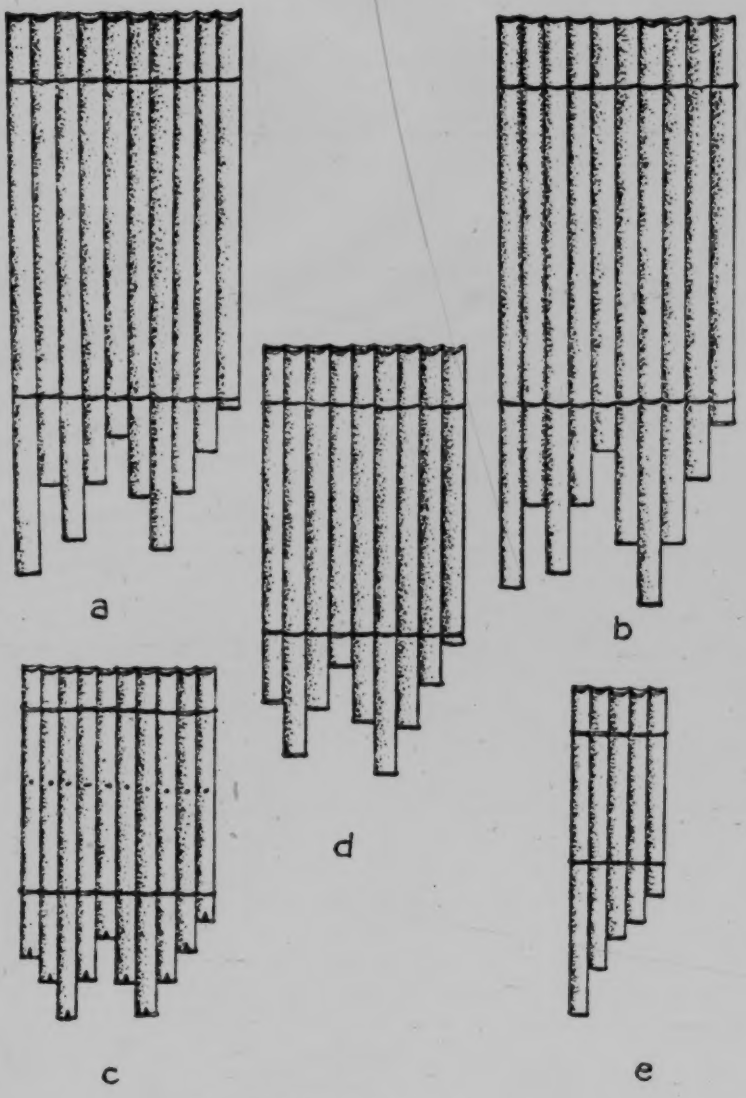

FIG. 1—PAN-PIPES FROM TONGA.

		No. of reeds	Shortest	Longest	Total width
a.	British Museum (Cook)	10	9½	13⅜	4
b.	Berne Museum (Webber)	10	6⅜	9⅜	3⅜
c.	British Museum *(H.M.S. Herald)*	10	5⅜	8	3⅛
d.	British Museum *(H.M.S. Herald)*	9	6¼	10¼	3¼
e.	British Museum *(H.M.S. Herald)*	5	4⅜	7¼	1⅝

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

position when played. In lieu of direct information, I again assume that in the double-row pan-pipes, the closed row is next to the mouth because it is the closed reeds which are sounded. It is interesting to note that of the pan-pipes in the Bishop Museum collection, the double-row instruments from the Solomons and the New Hebrides have the shortest reed on the right. The curved open ends appear to be peculiar to Tonga, for all the Bishop Museum instruments from New Guinea and Melanesia have straight upper ends.

An examination of the four wider instruments in fig. 1, *a-d*, shows that though apparently arranged irregularly as regards length, they are definitely arranged in two series. In all four, the right series consists of five reeds, commencing on the right with the shortest reed in the whole instrument. Moving in order to the left, the second reed is short, but a little longer than the first; the third is longer still and of medium length; the fourth is long, usually the longest; and the fifth falls back to the same medium length as the third. Thus the fourth longest reed is supported on either side by mediums of equal length.

The left series consists of five reeds in three instruments (*a*, *b*, *c*) and four in the other (*d*). The series commences with a short sixth, always a little longer than the first. The seventh is medium, the eighth long and the ninth medium. Thus the long reed (8th) is again supported on either side by mediums of equal length. The instrument with nine reeds stops here, but in the other three, the tenth or left marginal reed differs. In the Cook (*a*) and the Webber (*b*) instruments, the tenth reed is long, but in the third (*c*), the tenth is short, corresponding in length to the first (6th) of the second series. The reeds in the Tongan instruments were thus not placed haphazard, but according to a definite musical scale that Andersen or some other musician could work out if the instruments were available for testing.

The small instrument (*e*) with five reeds is really a half-instrument and though it departs from the preceding types in having the reeds arranged regularly in sequence of length, it follows the general plan in having the shortest reed on the right.

The lashing-technique, similar in all five instruments, consists of two spaced rows made with coconut-husk fibre.

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

It was commenced by passing a number of fibres horizontally around all the reeds to form a band consisting of five fibres in the Webber instrument and eight or nine in the British Museum specimens. The ends of individual fibres were brought together and the double ends tied with an overhand knot. A single fibre was then passed back and forth between the reeds and around the horizontal band both back and front as shown in fig. 2, *a-c*. The technique was the same in both rows, but in the Cook instrument, a double fibre was used in the lower row which, after completing one round, was reversed for a second course with resultant crossings on the back of the reeds as shown in fig. 2, *d*. This technique is similar to that used to bind together the lengths of dry coconut-leaflet midribs in both Tongan and Samoan combs.

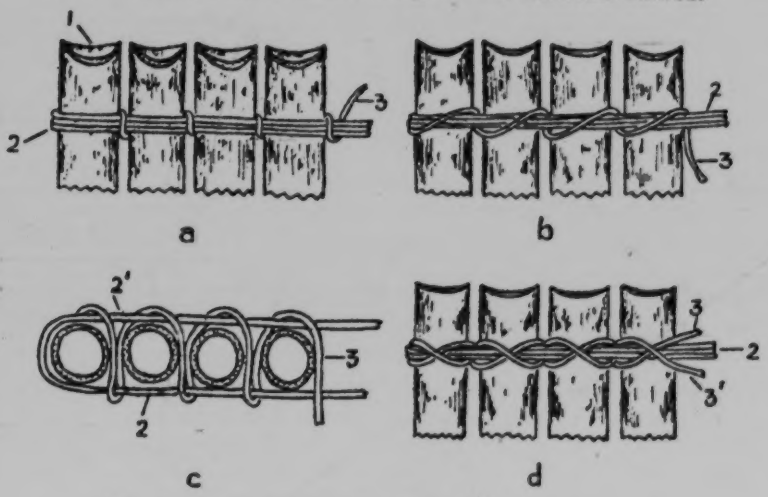

FIG. 2—LASHING TECHNIQUE OF TONGAN PAN-PIPES.

a. Front: 1, Upper ends of reeds, showing lower curved cuts on front; 2, Horizontal band of coir fibre; 3, Binding fibre passing around horizontal band in front between reeds and passing back in same interval.

b. Back: Binding fibre (3) after passing around band (2) in front, passes obliquely to right to pass around horizontal band in each interval.

c. Horizontal section showing horizontal band in front (2) and at back (2′) with binding fibre (3) passing backward and forward between the reeds.

d. Back of lower lashing row in Cook instrument, showing two crossing courses (3, 3′) of the binding fibre around horizontal band (2).

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According to McKern (4) the Tongan name for pan-pipes is *mimiha*.

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The drawing of a pan-pipe reproduced by Andersen (1, fig. 25, No. 3) from D'Urville (5, vol. 1, pl. 84, fig. 2) with the inscription "Tongatabu panpipes," differs markedly from the Tongan forms already described. The reeds are arranged in regular sequence of length and the lashing consists of fairly wide bands of fibres that pass around successive pairs of reeds near the lower closed ends. The lashings thus ascend from the longest reed to the shortest in a series of steps. This lashing technique is characteristic of New Britain, to which locality the instrument probably belongs. It certainly does not belong to Tonga.

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SAMOA

The information obtained by me in Samoa (6, p. 580) about pan-pipes was very scant. The Samoan instrument was said to be a *fa'aili 'ofe* (bamboo made into a whistle), a term which is descriptive rather than specific. It was said to consist of five reeds which were bound together with the coconut-leaflet midrib comb-technique *(fausanga selu)*. The number of reeds corresponds to that of the small Tongan instrument, though probably there were larger ones similar to the larger Tongan pan-pipes. The reported comb-lashing also corresponds to the Tongan technique and it is very probable that the old Samoan pan-pipes resembled those of Tonga very closely.

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I disagree with Andersen (1, p. 270) in his statement that the Samoan people did not know the pan-pipe "until it was introduced by Solomon Island labourers in comparatively recent times." Its presence in Samoa is vouched for by Stair (7, p. 135) and Wilkes (8, vol. 2, p. 142) long before Solomon Islands labourers were brought to Samoa. However, it is extremely likely that the pan-pipes that were originally introduced in pre-European times were abandoned after European contact and then re-introduced by Solomon Islands labourers. If such were the case, the original Samoan form resembling the Tongan type with the comb lashing would have disappeared and the form which came in later should resemble one of the Solomon Islands types of instrument. Such an explanation would bear out the latter part of Ander-

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sen's statement and it is supported by a modern pan-pipe from Tutuila that was made for the Bishop Museum by Fepulea'i Ripley. This instrument (fig. 3, *a*) differs from

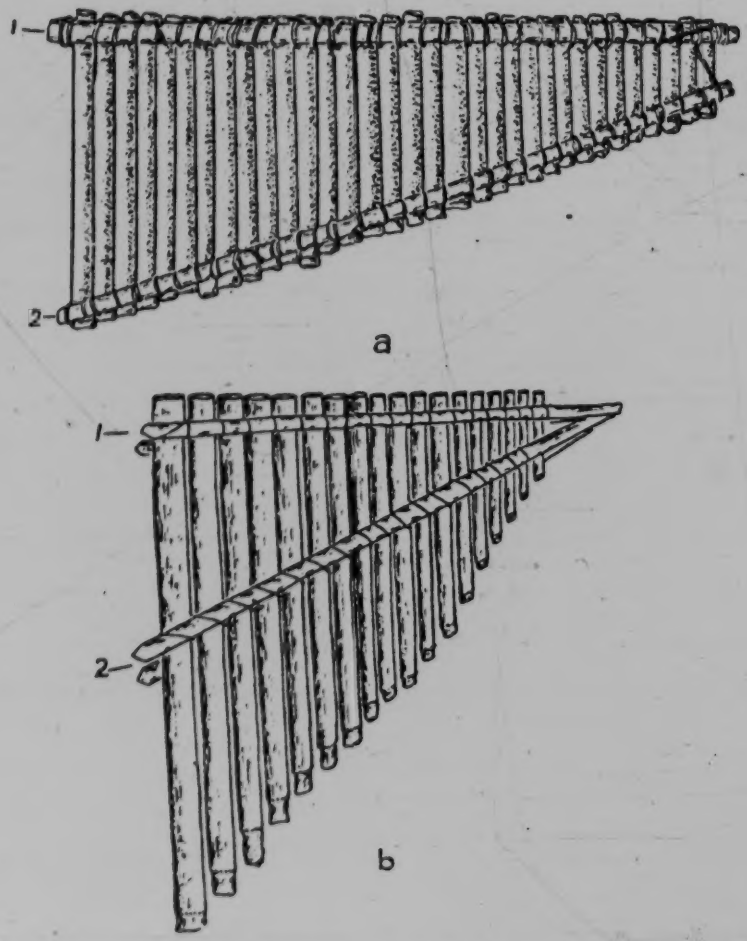

FIG. 3—PAN-PIPES WITH TWO BAR LASHINGS.

a. Modern Samoan, Bishop Museum (C. 1601): total width, 15½in.; 33 reeds; longest, 7½in.; shortest, 2¼in.; with upper horizontal bar (1) and lower oblique (2).

b. Solomon Islands, Edge-Partington (I-228-1): width, 6in.; depth, 6in.; with upper horizontal double bar (1) and lower oblique double (2).

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the Tongan type in having a larger number of reeds (33) arranged in regular sequence according to length and being bound together by lashing the reeds with narrow sennit braid to an upper horizontal bar and a lower oblique one. The type of Solomon Islands pan-pipe that it resembles is shown in fig. 3, *b*. It will be observed that the reeds in both instruments are regularly graded in length and the upper horizontal and lower oblique bars are present.

The Solomon Islands' instrument differs in that the bars are composed of flat strips of bamboo arranged in pairs for both horizontal and oblique bars whereas Ripley has used fairly thick rounded rods of some local wood on only one side of his instrument. For lashing, the Solomon Islanders used some form of local fibre which is not coconut-husk fibre, and Ripley used sennit. The lashing-technique is also different in the two instruments. It would be interesting to investigate the history of the introduced Solomon Islands labourers to find if some of them came from the district or island in which horizontal and oblique bars were used on their pan-pipes.

New Zealand

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The presence of pan-pipes in New Zealand, to quote Andersen (1, pp. 267-270), rests on its inclusion in a list of Maori musical instruments in Marshall's *Account of New Zealand*, 1834 and a set of pan-pipes in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand. The British Museum instrument was figured by Edge-Partington (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4) in his *Ethnological Album of the Pacific Islands*, and this drawing was reproduced by Andersen in his work on *Maori Music*.

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Marshall is the authority for the statement that he saw two Maori women weaving a cloak from either end toward each other so that the weft-line met in the middle of the garment. Such a technique would involve the knotting together of the weft-elements in the middle of each row with the result that the completed garment would show a vertical row of knots in the middle of each garment. No such garment has been recorded, because no craftswoman would adopt such an inconvenient and untidy technique. What really happened was that one woman wove the weft line from left to right to the middle of the garment and then relinquished it to her

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

assistant who completed the row with the same weft-elements while the first woman commenced another row. By the time the new weft-row reached the middle, the assistant had completed the preceding row and was ready to take over. Thus two women could weave on the one garment, but the second woman worked away from the first and not toward her. An author who could not describe accurately what he saw can be little relied upon to record accurately what he did not see.

Andersen (1) mentions that J. Macmillan Brown wrote that the pan-pipes were reported "once or twice from New Zealand" but Brown did not give his authorities for this statement. Evidently, according to Andersen, Macmillan Brown referred to Marshall and Edge-Partington. Elsdon Best rightly considered that the instrument was essentially Melanesian and had reached Tonga through Fiji. George Graham, who made special inquiries for S. Percy Smith many years ago, found that none of the old Maoris he interviewed had ever seen or heard of such an instrument.

Coming to the instrument in the British Museum, it is curious that it should be the only specimen attributed to New Zealand, whereas large numbers of the various Maori musical

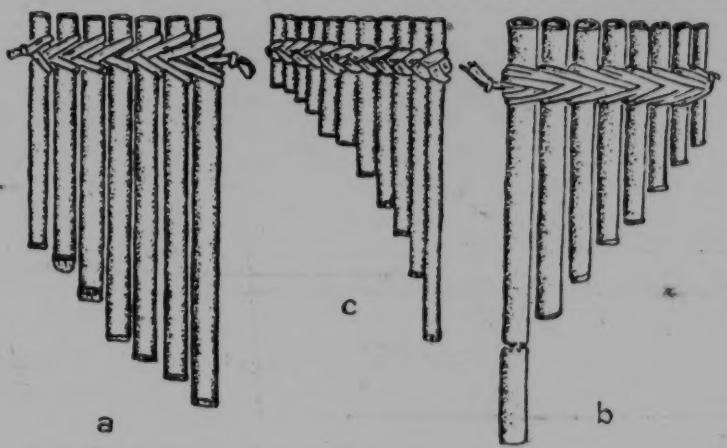

FIG. 4—PAN-PIPES WITH ONE ROW OF HERRING-BONE LASHING.
a. British Museum specimen wrongly attributed to New Zealand.
b. Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
c. New Hebrides instrument in British Museum.

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

instruments have been preserved together with their names. Any single representative of an alleged class of object must be treated with suspicion. However, there is a very simple method of deciding whether the instrument belongs to New Zealand or not, and this is by examining the material from which it is made. I did not see the instrument when I studied Polynesian artifacts in the British Museum in 1933, and it is not possible to obtain further details at present because the British Museum material has been stored in the country for safety during the duration of the war. However, a study of Edge-Partington's (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4) drawing, reproduced in fig. 4 *a*, indicates clearly that the reeds composing the instrument consist of bamboo. The bamboo *(kohe, 'ohe, 'ofe)*, though widely spread throughout the tropics, was not present in New Zealand in pre-European times. The fact that the Polynesian bamboo name of *kohe* was given by the early Maori settlers to a totally different plant *(Dysoxylum spectabile)* shows that they neither introduced the bamboo nor found it in the native flora of New Zealand. Having a plant-name to spare, the Maoris applied it to a plant which produced long slender saplings that could be used for some of the purposes which bamboo served in their previous home in central Polynesia. The poles, however, were solid and could not be used to make pan-pipes even had they been acquainted with that instrument. Thus, if the British Museum instrument is made of bamboo, as it appears to be, the instrument cannot possibly belong to New Zealand.

In the alleged New Zealand instrument, seven reeds are regularly graded in sequence of length. The lashing-technique consists of a single row near the upper end and the turns around the reeds form a continuous chevron or herring-bone pattern (fig. 4, *a*). In both reed-arrangement and lashing-technique, the instrument differs greatly from the Tongan type. In seeking the correct locality of the instrument, my attention was arrested by Andersen's (1, p. 23) reproduction of a figure in the illustrations of Cook's voyages, of a pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides. The regular arrangement of the reeds, the herring-bone pattern of the lashing, and even the overhand knots at each end of the lashings are identical in the drawings of the two instruments. The only differences are that the Cook instrument has one

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9
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more reed and the longest reed has extra length below the closing node (fig. 4, *b*). The two drawings were made from opposite sides which may confuse the reader at first glance.

Another pan-pipe in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (2) and attributed to the New Hebrides is shown in fig. 4, *c*. Two other New Hebrides pan-pipes in the Peabody Museum, Salem, with nine and eleven reeds respectively, show the same regular grading of reeds and a similar lashing in one row with the herring-bone pattern.

Edge-Partington, in a note to his drawing of fig. 4, *c*, states that the reeds are "fastened together with strips of leaf." In some modern pan-pipes in the Bishop Museum from the New Hebrides with three rows of lashing similar to the Tongan technique, the lashing-material consists of strips of the separated upper surface of pandanus leaves. It is probable that pandanus leaf is the leaf referred to by Edge-Partington for though techniques may alter somewhat, people are likely to adhere to the local raw material used by their elders. If another test were required to disprove the New Zealand locality of the pan-pipe attributed to it, the absence of New Zealand flax fibre as the lashing material would be significant, but the presence of pandanus leaf would be conclusive evidence as the pandanus is not present in the New Zealand flora. However, the use of bamboo reeds is conclusive enough. From the evidence, it is clear that pan-pipes were not used in New Zealand and the specimen in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand belongs to the New Hebrides.

Conclusion

Pan-pipes are widely spread throughout New Guinea and Melanesia, but in Polynesia they occurred only in Tonga and Samoa, two groups in closest proximity to Fiji, the eastern outpost of Melanesia. Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji form a triangle within which frequent inter-island communication and trade took place. Tonga traded with Fiji for red feathers, sandal wood, and logs for building double-canoes. Even Fijian craftsmen were imported into Tonga to build the Fijian type of double-canoe. This form under the name of *kalia* displaced the older Tongan type termed *tongiaki*. Samoa also traded with Fiji for red feathers and like the Tongans adopted the later double-canoe with its dialectical name of *'alia* in place

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of their older *vaka tele* that corresponded to the Tongan *tongiaki*.

In addition to trade which spread material objects, intermarriages took place between the three groups, and certain social customs such as brother-and-sister avoidance and the power exercised by the sister's son over his maternal uncle's family, crept into both Tonga and Samoa from Fiji. Of the material objects that spread from Fiji to western Polynesia, the pan-pipes form a good example. The fact that a number of elements of Melanesian culture reached Tonga and Samoa, but penetrated no further eastward into the rest of Polynesia, would indicate that the diffusion was local and probably fairly recent in pre-European times. The restricted character of the diffusion forms an argument against the theory that the route of the Polynesians from Indonesia passed through Melanesia and hence supports the view of the alternate route through Micronesia.

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Figure 2—Lashing technique of Tongan pan-pipes.
Figure 3—*a* Modern pan-pipe made in Samoa.
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b Pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
c Pan-pipe from New Hebrides (British Museum).

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A British cruise ship, the *Oriana*, receives a hearty welcome in Nuku'alofa from the Tongan police band.

Ko e talitali eni 'e he ifi 'a e kau polisi 'a e vaka pasese Pilitania ko e Oriana.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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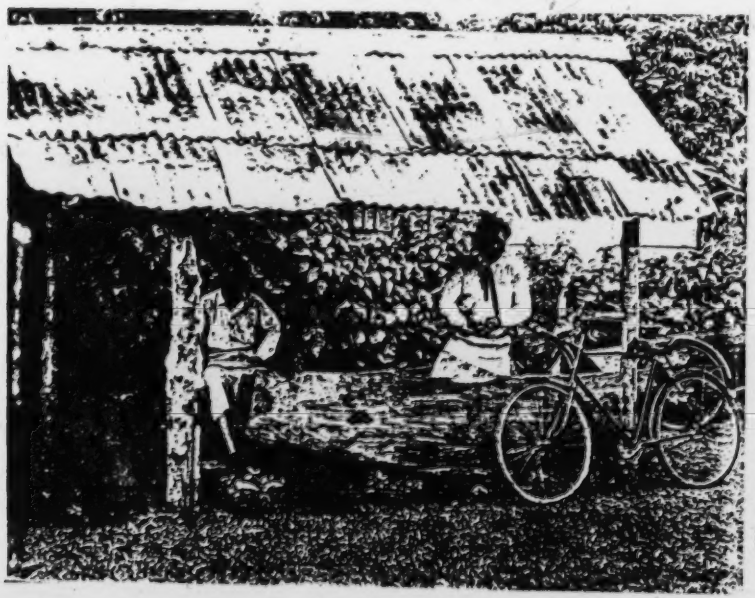
Enormous, hollow, wooden drums, *lali*, like the one pictured here, were used in the past to herald important events (e.g. war, the taking of prisoners, religious rites), and are still used in Tonga today to announce church services. Steady, deep, mellow booms of the *lali* can be heard for miles. The *lali* in this photo is in front of the Free Church of Tonga in Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.

Na'e ngaue'aki foki e lali he taimi fuoloa ke tala 'aki ha tau, pe ko ha puke popula 'o ha ni'ihi, pe ko ha me'a fakalotu pe ngaahi me'a mahu'inga pehe. Ko e ta eni 'o ha lali 'i he falelotu 'o e Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina 'i Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.



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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 ORD Tonga ORD

39: Gerstie & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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The way of life one of the most cherished and attractive aspects o Tonga Among some very common sights are laundry being done on a wash board *(at left:* Lata Fanua, Nuku'alofa and a young person finding pleasure in a ukulele *(above:* Tevita Me'e, 'Eua).

'Oku ma e he Tonga ha fa'ahinga mo'ui fiefia 'a ia 'oku fak amu ki ai e fa'ahinga muli tokolahi. *Ta 'i to'ohema:* **Ko Lata Fanua mei Nuku'alofa 'oku fai 'ene fo.** *Ta 'i 'olunga:* **Ko Tevita Me'e mei 'Eua oku fai 'ene ta 'ukulele.**

Dancing is one of the oldest, most well-loved arts in Tonga. Above: A young lady in typical dance costume at 'Oholei Beach does the popular *tau'olunga* dance, obeying the cardinal rule of Tongan dancers—to smile. At right: Pretty dancers in gay attire rest before starting the *ma'ulu'ulu*, which is a combination sit-down dance and action song. Beginning at a very young age, Tongan children learn the skillful dances—girls, the graceful arm and hand movements, and boys, the rhythmic, more vigorous counterpart.

Ko e me'a manakoa 'i Tonga 'a e faiva. Ta 'i 'olunga: Ko e tau'olunga eni 'a ha ki'i finemui 'i he matatahi ko 'Oholei. Ta 'i to'omata'u: Ko e kau finemui eni 'oku nau teuteu ke fai 'enau ma'ulu'ulu.

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A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation

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In the pages of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1941, Te Rangi Hiroa described a number of Polynesian panpipes, including two Tongan specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook, and attempted in his final paragraph to use panpipes as evidence to support his view on the migration of the Polynesians through Micronesia. In the intervening years, new studies of Tongan material culture, Captain Cook, and Polynesian migrations have made additional information available and it seems appropriate to place this information on record. These remarks will be divided into three parts. First, it will be shown that panpipes can support an alternative migration route to that proposed by Hiroa. Second, the Cook voyage attribution of panpipes will be discussed. Third, the musical and aesthetic properties of Tongan panpipes and their relation to social organization will be explored.

Recent archaeological and linguistic research indicates that "proto-Oceanic people" reached Tonga by 1500 B.C., having traveled through the Melanesian area probably before much of it was inhabited by peoples we now call Melanesians (see Green 1966, 1967, 1968; Golson 1971; Groube 1972). These studies, of course, have not attempted to determine or even suggest what kind of musical instruments these people used. However, the most widespread musical instrument in Polynesia at the time of European contact was the bamboo noseflute, which was found in nearly all of the island groups except New Zealand -- where bamboo was not available and a different group of wind instruments evolved. From this widespread distribution one would assume that the

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noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre-European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes (*tuki kofe*) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola*. At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of Cook and Labillardière — Tongans today are not familiar with the instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke*. The demise of bamboo stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe (*mimika*), likewise, seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering, then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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not documented. Besides the latter, Hiroa describes three other panpipes in the British Museum and attributes their collection to H.M.S. *Herald* (1941: 174). This information, however, appears to be incorrect, and only the 5-pipe panpipe is from H.M.S. *Herald*. The other two British Museum specimens discussed by Hiroa have no numbers or labels, nor do two other ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection not mentioned by Hiroa. Neither Hiroa nor the British Museum pursued the Cook voyage attribution of the "Cook coll." panpipe; however, its origin is easily documented, for this panpipe and another were the subject of two short papers by Joshua Steele in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. Steele wrote about two Tongan panpipes, which, because of the 1775 publication dates, are certainly from Cook's second voyage. One specimen was brought from the "Isle of Asterdam" (Tongatapu) by Captain Furneaux (Captain of Cook's companion ship, the *Adventure*), and given to Mr. Steele for experiment in 1774 by Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. Shortly after, Joseph Banks brought another panpipe from Tongatapu to Pringle, who gave it, also, to Mr. Steele for experiment. Steele reported on this larger panpipe in February, 1775.

An analysis of the description by Steele—especially the length and placement of the individual bamboo pipes (1775: 74) leaves little doubt that the panpipe ultimately from Banks[3] is the panpipe now in the British Museum noted "Cook coll." (fig. 1.c). Just when this "Banks" panpipe was acquired by the British Museum is unknown. The "Banks" panpipe is illustrated (fig. 2) in a volume of drawings (Add. Ms. 23920 · 110(124), also given to the British Museum by Banks. It may also be the same panpipe that was engraved in the official account of Cook's second voyage (fig. 3). This engraving, however, has two bindings near the bottom of the pipes whereas the British Museum specimen and drawing (and all other known specimens) have only one. What happened to the Furneaux panpipe that was described by Steele is unknown. It is not among the small collection of objects owned by a collateral descendant of Capt. Furneaux (Furneaux 1960: 180). It should be possible to identify it because, according to Steele, the instrument had nine pipes, the fourth (and presumably longest) measuring 7 1/4 inches (Steele 1775: 76), but this dimension does not match any instrument known to me. Furneaux is said to have given a

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collection of 18 objects to the British Museum (Miller 1973: 76) but these cannot be identified today, from British Museum records. Although it is possible that this panpipe is one of them, the dimensions do not correspond to those in the British Museum. 534 113

A third panpipe (fig. 5), once associated with Sir John Pringle, is now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1956. 1008). It was purportedly collected by Cook and given to Pringle by Cook's widow with several other specimens. Pringle gave it to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1781. This date would indicate a Cook voyage provenance, but whether it is from the second or third voyage is not indicated.

The most systematic collection made on Cook's second voyage was that of Reinhold and George Forster, who may have collected as many as eight panpipes. One of these (fig. 6b) was given by the elder Forster to the Ashmolean Museum by 1777 and is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. A second panpipe was in Reinhold's personal collection and was purchased from his widow in 1799 by the forerunner of the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen (fig. 7a and see note 8). Two further panpipes, which tentatively can be attributed to the Forsters, are listed in the register of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.[4] Two panpipes now in Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, may also have come from the Forsters (fig. 8). In February, 1778, a list of objects that the Forsters still had for sale was prepared for Giovanni Fabroni for possible purchase for the Royal Cabinet in Florence.[5] The list included "a musical instrument similar to the syrinx of classical times". In the Florence collection there are eighteen bamboo pipes which at one time composed two Tongan panpipes. Giglioli described one panpipe consisting of ten pipes, and a second, consisting of eight pipes, which he thought to be incomplete (1893: 217). It is likely that one or both of these panpipes came from the Forsters, although no list of what (if anything) was actually purchased from them has yet been found.[6] Another part of the Forsters' collection is now in Wörlitz, Germany, and this, too, contains a panpipe (Germer 1971: 81). Finally, a collection of forty-one objects was sold to Baron Heinrich von Offenberg, who took it to Mitau, Latvia (Anon. 1917: 20).[7] The present location of this collection (if it still

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exists) is unknown but there is the possibility that it, too, contains a panpipe.

Another Tongan panpipe that comes from Cook's second voyage was collected by Anders Sparrman and is now in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm (fig. 9). Its longest pipe is broken, but would probably have been similar to the panpipe depicted in fig. 1 c.[A]

The only panpipe traceable to Cook's third voyage is the one described by Hiroa from the Webber collection in Berne. The object cannot be located but a photograph of it exists (fig. 10).[B] A panpipe in the Cook collection in Göttingen, obtained through the London dealer Humphrey, may also derive from the third voyage (fig. 7b).[C] This latter panpipe is described in a catalogue which accompained the collection as "A Reed-pipe or Organ, somewhat like the ancient shepherd's or pan's pipe, from the Friendly Isles".[8] This instrument may have come from the 1781 sale of the collection of David Samwell, surgeon's mate on Cook's third voyage (Kaeppler, in preparation, b). A Tongan panpipe said to be in the National Museum, Ireland (Freeman 1949: 8), probably came either from Surgeon Patten on the second voyage or Lt. King on the third voyage. This panpipe cannot be located today.

A large number of ethnographic specimens from Cook's voyage was sold at the auction of the Leverian Museum, London, in 1806. Of the nine panpipes listed in the auction catalogue, seven were attributed to Tahiti and for two no provenance was given. In the drawings by Sarah Stone of objects in the Leverian Museum two panpipes are depicted—one from the New Hebrides and one from Tonga (fig. 11).[D] In view of the usual confusion of Tahitian and Tongan materials, it is likely that seven of the Leverian Museum panpipes were Tongan. One of these can be traced to the collection now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (fig. 12)[9], and one is now in the London School of Economics (fig. 13), while neither the one illustrated by Stone nor the other four possible ones have as yet been located (Kaeppler, in preparation, a). It is impossible to state with certainty from which voyage the Tongan panpipes from the Leverian Museum derive. However, it is likely that at least the one depicted (fig. 11) came from the second voyage because the volume of drawings in which the panpipe appears[10] seems to have been done before the return of the third voyage.

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 125--Analyst/
C /see p. 124--Analyst/
D /see p. 126--Analyst/

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A panpipe in Richard Greene's Litchfield Museum was part of a collection said to derive from Cook's voyages and given to Greene by the Earls of Uxbridge and Donegall (Greene 1786: 77). It was described in a catalogue of the Museum as "a Syrinx, or Musical Instrument, composed of ten Reeds of different lengths, of the kind wherewith the God *Pan* is usually depicted" (Greene 1786: 75). This panpipe cannot be located today.

In the collection in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, which is said to derive from Cook's voyages, there are no Tongan panpipes today. However, in the 1813 catalogue of this museum we find:

> "No. 16, Two Reed Pipes from New Zealand,[11] used by the natives in their musical entertainments. The great analogy between these pipes, and the syrinx, or Pan's pipe of the ancients as well as some other similar articles used by these natives, has given rise to many speculative theories respecting their origin" (Laskey 1813: 20).

The location of this panpipe is unknown.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Mackrell 1886) did not include a Tongan panpipe, but it did include one from the New Hebrides. Many of the specimens from this exhibition, now in the Australian Museum, Sydney, derive from Mrs. Cook. In view of the fact that Mrs. Cook was said to have given a Tongan panpipe from her collection to Sir John Pringle (now in the Royal Scottish Museum, p. 105 above), it is unlikely that she would have had another Tongan one in her collection. This suggests that Mrs. Cook did, in fact, give the panpipe (and other objects) to Pringle and that both panpipes may be from Cook's second voyage because both Tonga and the New Hebrides were visited during that voyage.

Finally, it appears that there were no panpipes in William Bullock's Museum—there are none listed in his *Companions* or his detailed sale catalogue (Kaeppler 1974). The Cook voyage specimens in Bullock's Museum derived primarily from the third voyage.

From this summary it woul appear that Tongan panpipes were more common articles of trade during Cook's second than during the third voyage. While six panpipes are traceable to the second voyage, only two appear to be from the third voyage. For fourteen potential panpipes the voyage cannot be determined with certainty, but six of these

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seem more likely to have come from the second voyage while none are more likely to have come from the third voyage. One is tempted to conclude that panpipes in Tonga were more in vogue at the time of the second than at the time of the third voyage. (There seems to be no reason that collectors on the second voyage would have been more eager to collect them than collectors on the third voyage.) But in any case, they were certainly more in vogue during Cook's voyages than later. If we are right in assuming that panpipes had been a relatively recent importation from Fiji and played no essential part in Tongan music, it would follow logically enough that they would have been readily traded to Europeans and perhaps not replaced. In fact, there are no Tongan panpipes of the nine- or ten-pipe variety in museum collections which have documentation that would trace them to voyages other than those of the 18th century. The four unnumbered nine- and ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection, which have no accession information (e.g. fig. 1a and 1b), could well be some of the missing Cook voyage specimens, such as some of the five "lost" since the sale of the Leverian Museum.

Labillardière, who visited Tonga in 1792 on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in search of La Pérouse, states, "These people have invented a sort of Pan's flute, which differs not from the European one, except in the proportion of its sounds; all the tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest. We purchased several of these flutes" (1802: 168). None of these can be located. Neither the other 18th-century European visitors to Tonga, notably Wallis, Malaspina, Maurelle, and Wilson, nor the 17th-century visitors, Lemaire or Tasman, describe panpipes. Even Mariner (Martin 1818), who was in Tonga between 1806 and 1810, does not describe the panpipe in his 13 page section on music.

D'Urville, who visited Tonga in 1827 and 1838, depicts a panpipe (in Plate 84) in the *Atlas* to his first voyage; however, he does not seem to refer to it in the text (1830—1833). The panpipe depicted is unlike any known Tongan ones in almost all respects—it has seven pipes in a graduated arrangement with straight tops and broken bottoms which are lashed differently than any known Tongan panpipes. I think it can reasonably be assumed that D'Urville did not see one on the voyage. Because much of D'Urville's information comes from accounts of earlier

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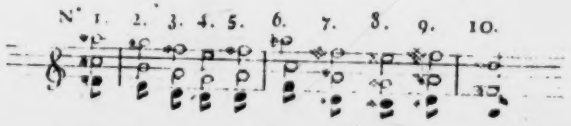
voyagers, and especially as there was no panpipe in Caen[12] or La Rochelle—two collections known to contain objects from his voyage - this depiction is best disregarded.

A number of panpipes, presumably also from Tonga, with only five (or six) pipes is also found in museum collections. Two are in the British Museum, one from H. M. S. *Herald* (fig. 1 d) and one which came into the collection in 1876. Another is in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (fig. 5 a), in the original collection formed by General Pitt Rivers. There are two in the Peabody Museum, Salem, both from the 1908 Weld accession. One of these was purchased from Oldman (fig. 14) and one (with six pipes) comes from the Hill collection (fig. 15). The only collection data we have on any of these smaller panpipes state that one was collected on H. M. S. *Herald*, a ship that was engaged in survey work in the Fiji Islands and the Pacific in 1852—1859.[13] There is no evidence that this panpipe, or any of the five- or six-pipe variety, was actually collected in Tonga, and they may have been identified as Tongan by museum curators because of their double-beveled blowing end. The longest pipes of these five- or six-pipe panpipes range in size from 5 1/2 inches to 12 3/4 inches. The longest pipes in the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes range from 7 1/4 inches to 14 inches. Only nine- and ten-pipe specimens are found in the 18th century Tongan collections, and it would appear that the five- or six-pipe variety simply represents a smaller, more easily manufactured post-European style (if, indeed, they are Tongan).

Early writers on the subject of Tongan panpipes were of the opinion that the pipes were "placed promiscuously" (Forster 1777, Book II: 456) or without regular progression (Beaglehole 1967, Part 2: 940). Hiroa felt that the pipes were "not placed haphazard, but according to a definite scale that Anderson or some other musician could work if the instruments were available for testing" (1941: 176). Söderström, however, seemed unhappy about the experiments by a musician on the Stockholm panpipe (Söderström 1939: 44). Testing these today is rather unsatisfactory because many of the pipes are broken or cracked and the pitches are barely distinguishable. Fortunately, Joshua Steele, who was asked by the Royal Society to examine the Furneaux and Banks panpipes in 1774—1775, was a musician. He notated the sounds he obtained by blowing them in the same way "as people use to whistle in the pipe

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/
C /see p. 127--Analyst/

534 533 hole of a drawer key" (1775: 69) and superimposed the pitches on a drawing of the Furneaux panpipe (fig. 4). "Of the tones, marked on the drawing, the upper series, which are exact fifths to the lower, are easiest produced by an unexperienced person; and the lower series, which we will call fundamentals, with somewhat more address and a weaker blast".[14] The sounds obtained from the Banks panpipe Steele notated as follows:[15]



The similarity of the tonal systems of the two instruments is apparent and Steele remarked that they were of the "same genus" (p. 72). It is still possible to produce the main pitches on the Banks panpipe and others now in the British Museum, but the sounds are very slight.

In all the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes I have tested,[16] the intervalic relationships of pipes 2, 3, 4, 5 (5 being a repetition of 3), and 6, 7, 8, 9 (9 being a repetition of 7), are essentially the same, except that pipes 6, 7, 8, 9 seem slightly less than a half tone higher than pipes 2, 3, 4, 5. Also in the panpipes that I have tested, the intervals between pipes 1 and 10 and their neighboring pipes vary from panpipe to panpipe. The 10th pipe, if present, varies most- -ranging from the longest of the set, to approximately the same as one of the other pipes (e.g., pipe 2 as in fig. 1a). Steele's 18th century observation on the two panpipes agree with this. Steele also found that the interval between pipes 1 and 2 in the Furneaux panpipe was three semitones, while the interval between pipes 1 and 2 in the Banks panpipe was two semitones.

From this I conclude that there are three important pitch relationships in a Tongan panpipe, i.e., those obtained from pipes 2, 3, and 4. These three relationships are repeated at a slightly higher (or lower) pitch, and there are one or two notes which are not essential but "decorate" these basic relationships in a limited number of ways. All of the pitches are usually encompassed within a fourth (except the 10th pipe, which is sometimes lower). The panpipe structure includes two groups of four pipes each. In a four-pipe group there are three pitches with a repetition of the middle one, and the second four-pipe group

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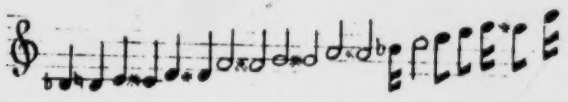
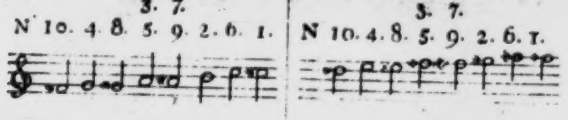
repeats these relationships at a slightly different pitch.[17] This would be quite in line with a Tongan aesthetic principle which values "repetition in a slightly different way" in order to challenge a listener's power of instantaneous transformation and thus experience the parallel (Kaeppler 1971 a). This principle is found repeatedly in Tongan poetry and dance movements, but is not found in melodic line except when the same melodic contour is played successively on noseflutes with slightly different tonal relationships. The "decorative"[18] high and low notes found in the lst and 10th pipes, as well as the near repetition in the intervalic structure, would appear to express another aesthetic concept found in vocal music, that is, decoration of the basic melodic contour. In traditional Tongan vocal polyphony there was a *fasi* (melody), *laulalo* (drone), and up to four decorative, i.e., nonessential parts (Kaeppler 1972: 2—3). Although the melodic line itself was simple and repetitive, the complete musical product could be rendered complex and interesting by additional parts. The panpipe, although it had only three main pitch relationships, could be made more complex and interesting by a repetition of these pitch relationships at a slightly different pitch level, which, I submit, is a form of "repetition in a slightly different way", as well as a "decoration" of the basic melodic contour. The arrangement of the pipes would produce, in effect, a successive, rather than simultaneous, "polyphony".

Steele concluded that the pipes produced a series "sufficient for an infinite number of airs" (1775: 70) which he represented as follows:

Furneaux panpipe, p. 70:



Banks panpipe, p. 78:



Fifths above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a gentle blast.

Tierces, or tenths, above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a stronger blast.

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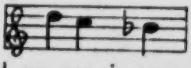
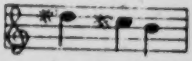
I submit, however, that Tongans did not cognize the scale in this way, nor were they attempting to obtain more than one sound from a pipe by using more or less breath—but rather that they had in mind two similar sets of pitches, e.g.  and  which could both be played on one instrument. Thus, the obtainable melodic contours were in some ways similar to those found in Tongan noseflutes (*fangufangu*).[19] It may be that the Tongans were attempting to simulate the concept of using the sounds of two slightly different noseflutes (two or more of which were sometimes said to have been played together or successively). The number of pipes and their consistent intervalic patterns may derive from knowledge of noseflute "tuning". Indeed, panpipes may have been used to play variations on noseflute themes which needed only four pitches. The melody was almost "built in" to the panpipe and the player needed only to move the instrument across his lips. Indeed, an 18th century account describes just this: "a notch was formed at the top of each [pipe], and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips" (Forster 1777, Book II: 456). Thus, it does not appear that the Tongan panpipe was played as are most panpipes (i.e., by blowing into each pipe as into a bottle to get individual pitches) because Tongan panpipes do not have straight top edges like other panpipes. Bound in a raft with twisted sennit, the upper edges are beveled on both sides, one side with a deeper bevel than the other. It must have been played with the shorter bevel against the lips and the deeper bevel on the outside functioning in much the same way as the mouthpiece of a Japanese *shakuhachi*. Indeed, Dodge and Brewster consider Tongan panpipes to be notched flutes (1945: 56).

Although the tuning is not the same, the sound of the Tongan panpipe is quite soft and in tone quality is comparable to the sound of the Tongan noseflute. But the question inevitably arises why Tongans would want to simulate such music on something other than a noseflute. I feel that, in addition to the novelty of a new instrument, the answer may be found in the use patterns of material culture in this highly stratified society. According to tradition, noseflutes in Tonga were used to play (or, according to Mariner [Martin 1818, Vol. 2: 318] to accompany) *'upe*, i.e., songs used to awaken chiefs. They may also have been used for

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relaxing or soothing, which may have given rise to the translation of *'upe* as lullaby. Even in 1953 when Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth visited Tonga she was awakened by noseflutes. A recording of noseflute music can be heard each day at the opening and closing of the Tongan broadcasting station. The word for noseflute, *fangufangu*, also means "to awaken gradually" and it is said to have been a punishable offense to awaken a chief by startling him. Traditionally, a commoner may have been considered presumptuous if he attempted to use a noseflute, to awaken someone in his own family (which had its own internal ranking system, see Kaeppler 1971 b). I suggest that the panpipe in Tonga could have been either a substitute for a noseflute and used by the lower classes as a functional replacement of this chiefly instrument, or it may have been an alternate or additional instrument for noseflute functions. The noseflute in some contexts may also have been used as a pleasurable way to pass the time—again more the prerogative of chiefs than commoners.

In support of this argument, I offer the two lines of evidence explored above. First, that a panpipe was capable of simulating melodic contours conceptually similar to the playing of two melodic contours by two noseflutes with slightly different sets of pitches. They were not, however, trying to reproduce noseflute pitches or to play the same songs—which may still have been considered *fie'eiki* (i.e., presuming above one's station). The reason for simulating the sounds of two noseflutes may be a reflection of social structure. When used to awaken chiefs, if two or more noseflutes were played together, they would have produced a polyphonic structure which could have been one melodic contour (*fasi*); played at different pitch levels and with slightly different pitch relationships; or a *fasi* played on one noseflute and accompanied by one or more drone pitches on the other noseflute(s). As far as we know, noseflutes were not hocketed, but according to presentday informants, the performers played the *fasi* alternately while the other player(s) might play a drone pitch. According to Samwell on Cook's third voyage, "about sunset they play upon their flutes... before their Houses" (Beaglehole 1967, part 2: 1036). This suggests that several flutes may have been played simultaneously, which could have been easily heard from house to house. It is likely that they were playing "in concert", playing the same melodic contour on flutes that were tuned slightly differently just

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as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of panpipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation. a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

/see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

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Cook's voyages are many—44 either have definite non-Cook provenances or no collection information[21] and this is dramatically different from the situation with panpipes. The placement of the holes in the 19th and 20th century noseflutes is also different--there are often five holes nearly equally spaced on the upper surface and one at the middle of the lower surface--and usually there is little or no decoration (fig. 17). This relative abundance and lack of decoration suggests that noseflutes became more widely available in the post-European era. The political intrigues and the changing status of lineages in the 19th century went hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity, and items of material culture which had traditionally been used mainly by high chiefs were taken over by lines of lesser chiefs in an attempt to legitimize themselves and demonstrate their status. One is tempted to speculate that the panpipe is an example of this process and reflects the changing social system of Tonga. The hypothesized introduction of panpipes in late prehistoric times from Fiji and use as a lower status replacement of the chiefly noseflute may reflect dissatisfaction with a social order that was beginning to be oppressive and a spreading desire for goods which had been mainly restricted to chiefs. A subsequent substitution of the real noseflute for a lesser status variant may indicate a wider availability of previously socially restricted scarce goods to a broader stratum of society.

The substitution of European goods for their socially restricted indigenous counterparts is well known, but Tongan panpipes suggest that similar acculturative processes were operative in Tonga long before the coming of Europeans. We conclude that studies of Tongan material culture (both prehistoric and historic) must take into consideration not only the ramifications of social stratification, but also layers of acculturation that recognize at least a post-Lapita Fijian acculturative horizon, as well as European acculturation.

This paper is an attempt to interpret a certain amount of data which cannot be illuminated by ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. Tongan panpipes have been objects of interest since they were first collected on Cook's second voyage, but neither the musical system nor their origin or use has been explained to anyone's satisfaction. The interpretations suggested above should be recognized as tentative and based on conceptual analogies derived from other facets of Tongan music and society.

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121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 122 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 981-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969–1972, supported by grants from the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

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534 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were 171 accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two 114 panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it 535 is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused 171 from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a 177 problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the pan- 113 pipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

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5. The manuscript list is in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. (Misc. Ms. 1169), while an explanation of the purpose of the list is in a letter from George Forster to Fabroni in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
6. The origin of the Florence Cook collection is still a mystery, but I suggest that it came from the Forsters, the sale of the Leverian Museum (see Kaeppler, in preparation, a), and perhaps others such as James Burney.
7. I am indebted to Ruth Dawson for this reference.
8. Humphrey's manuscript catalogue was made available through the courtesy of Manfred Urban, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, who is currently preparing the Göttingen Cook voyage collections for publication. The pipes in both of the Göttingen panpipes are not in the correct order and must have been taken apart and put back together in a more graduated arrangement. The Forster panpipe in the Göttingen collection was referred to by Fischer (1958: 58), who notes that there was something uncommon in the instrument.
9. Some of the pipes are missing from this panpipe, see note 17.
10. This sketchbook is in the Australian Museum, Sydney.
11. The attribution to New Zealand must be incorrect.
12. The collection in Caen was destroyed during World War II. However, a list of objects was published in 1880 (Anon. 562--564).
13. N. E. Upham, National Maritime Museum, personal communication.
14. "Besides the above mentioned tones, if the velocity of the breath be increased a little, the five first pipes will give octaves to the fundamentals; and if farther increased, sharp thirds, or tierces, above these octaves. In the pipes 6, 7, 8, and 9, I could neither make the octaves to the fundamentals, nor the sharp tierces; but in their stead, the minor, or flat-third, above the octave came, when the breath was urged beyond the degree requisite to produce the fifth. This minor third is an accident out of the natural order of tones produced from simple tubes, which I do not pretend to account for." p. 69.
15. "The sounds which each pipe exhibits easily, are marked in minims" (p. 74), i.e.,
16. The pipe numbering in this section follows that in fig. 4.
17. This can be seen even in the incomplete Vienna panpipe (fig. 12). According to Moschner the pitches are as depicted from left to right, c, b, ab, b, c, eb. (Moschner 1955: 239). However, as the lengths of the two "c" pipes are different, it is apparent that the left "c" pipe is part of another 4-pipe group of slightly lower pitch. It is also apparent that the 7th pipe from the left on the Forster panpipe (fig. 6b) is broken and should be slightly longer than the 3rd pipe from the left, and that the first and sixth pipes of the Wörlitz instrument are "missing". (see Gerner, 1971: 81). Given this information it is now possible to arrange the pipes of those instruments that are broken or have been taken apart in the past into their "correct" order. I have

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/see p. 123--Analyst/

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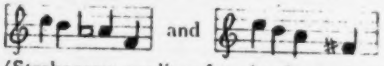
done this with the Florence panpipes (fig. 8), but the Göttingen panpipes (fig. 7) are still incorrect.

18. That these pipes are in fact "decorative" can only be inferred by analogy (see Kaeppler, in press). No living Tongans have precise knowledge of panpipes nor is there any written description of the panpipe musical system from the Tongan point of view.
19. Two noseflutes in Bishop Museum produce the following pitches



(Strobaccon reading for the latter is C-15, B-33, A-49, F-40) and many noseflutes approximate this tuning. Noseflutes were not really "tuned", but the holes were placed by rough measuring and "by eye"; it is unlikely that the pitches on any two instruments would be exactly the same.
20. Tongan noseflutes can be played from either end, therefore this terminology is used only for convenience. Some players prefer one end to the other, but it is possible to play them from either end.
21. For more information on these specimens, see Appendix I in Kaeppler, in prep. c.

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Fig. 1

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

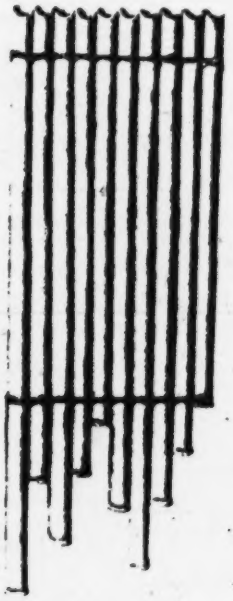

Fig. 2

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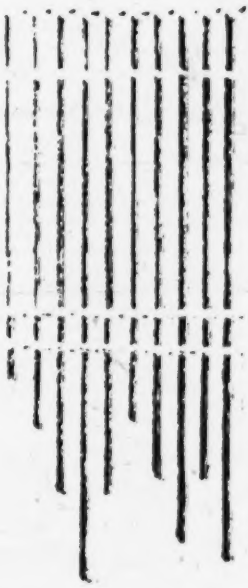

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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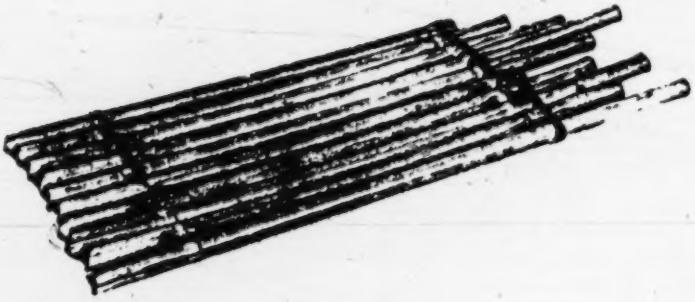

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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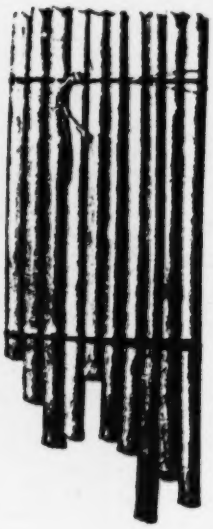

Fig. 7 a

Fig. 7 b

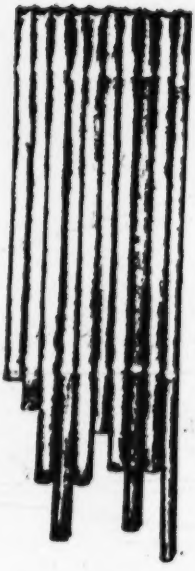

Fig. 8

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Fig. 9

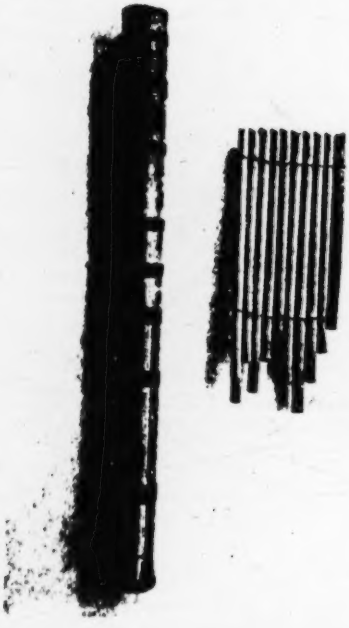

Fig. 10

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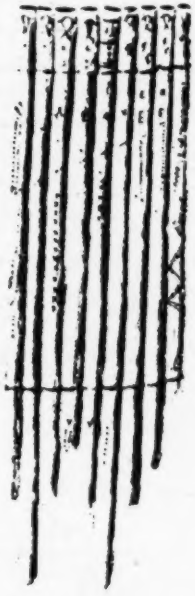

Fig. 11

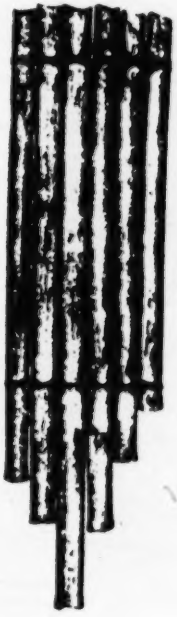

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Fig. 12

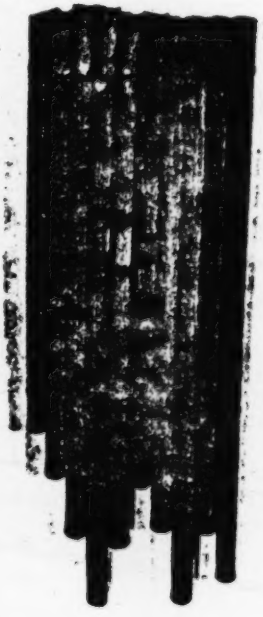

Fig. 13

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

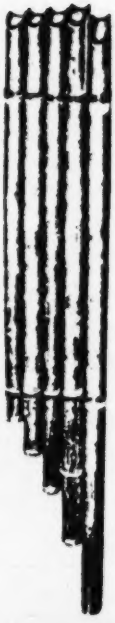

Fig. 14

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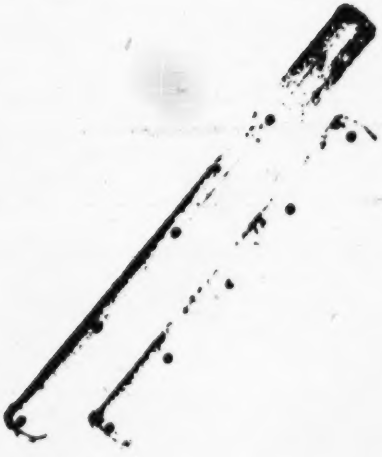
Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17



52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

534 *Fig. 1. Tongan panpipes in the British Museum. a) (top left), no accession information, length 8 ¼". b) (bottom left), no accession information, length 10 ⅜". c) (middle), "Banks" panpipe from Cook's second voyage, length 14". d) (right), panpipe collected on H.M.S. Herald, length 7 ½".*

Fig. 2. Drawing of "Banks" panpipe, British Museum Add.Ms. 23920, 110(124), length 8".

Fig. 3. Lithograph of panpipe from the official published account of Cook's second voyage.

Fig. 4. Drawing of Furneaux panpipe from Steele (1773: 76).

Fig. 5. Panpipe in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, probably from Cook's second voyage, length 11 ½".

Fig. 6. Panpipes in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. a) (left), collection data unknown, length 6 ¾". b) (right), collected by the Forsters on Cook's second voyage, length 9 ¾".

Fig. 7. Panpipes in the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, with pipes rearranged. a) (left), collected by the Forsters on Cook's second voyage, length 10 ½". b) (right), from the Cook collection obtained from Humphrey, possibly collected by Samwell on Cook's third voyage, length 8 ¾".

Fig. 8. Panpipes in the Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, with pipes arranged by the author, from Cook's voyages, possibly collected by the Forsters on the second voyage, length 10 ¾". 12 ⅝".

Fig. 9. Panpipe in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, collected by Sparrman on Cook's second voyage, length 7 ¼".

Fig. 10. Tongan noseflute and panpipe in the Bernisches Historisches Museum collected by Webber on Cook's third voyage.

Fig. 11. Drawing by Sarah Stone of panpipe from the Leverian Museum, probably from Cook's second voyage.

Fig. 12. Panpipe in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, collected on Cook's voyages and formerly in the Leverian Museum, length 8 ¼".

Fig. 13. Panpipe in the London School of Economics, collected on Cook's voyages and formerly in the Leverian Museum, length 11 ⅓".

Fig. 14. Panpipe in Peabody Museum, Salem, formerly in the Oldman collection, provenance unknown, length 12 ¾".

Fig. 15. Panpipe in Peabody Museum, Salem, formerly in the Hill collection, provenance unknown, length 5 ½".

Fig. 16. Tongan noseflutes in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, collected on Cook's voyages and formerly in the Leverian Museum.

Fig. 17. Tongan noseflutes in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 20th century.

*Dimensions given are for the longest pipe of the panpipe.

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TUESDAY 20*th*. Fenough havi[ng] expressed a desire to see the Marines go through their exercize and being willing to gratify him I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the Morning of the 20th After they had gone through their exercize and fired several Volleys, the Cheif entertained us again in his turn with a sight intirely new. It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first rank; but so much unlike any thing I know of in any other part of the World, that no discription I can give will convey even a tolerable Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred and five, each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something like a paddle of 2½ feet in length, with a small handle and thin blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made. With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in three lines, and by different movements and motions each man changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing, one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man.[1] It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance whould have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had over us. Not one of our musical instruments, except the drum did they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think superiour to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom would attend to them attall either here or at any of the other islands.[2]

[1] This paddle-dance, *mā'ā 'o haggi*, says Mariner, II, p. 215 and n, 'is a Nuha [i.e. Niuatoputapu] dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa [Samoa].'—*Mā'a fa'apaki*: *mā'a*, a dance; *fa'a*, persistently, or 'to keep going'; *paki*, a paddle.

[2] It was probably during the proceedings of this morning of 20 May that Cook's fate was in the balance, as told in Mariner's story (II, pp. 71–2), quoted above, pp. ciii–civ. Presumably Finau and the other chiefs had already their night dance in preparation, and the argument was over whether to do the deed of assassination during the morning or the following evening.

In order to give them a better opinion of English amusements, I ordered a set of Fire works to be got ready and after it was dark played them off before the Chief and a great concourse of people;[1] some of the works were spoiled, but there were enough good to answer the end I intended, particular some sky and Water Rockets which astonished and pleased them beyond measure and intirely turned the scale in our favour.

By such time as the fire works were over Fenough had got ready a nother entertainment, this consisted of musick, singing and dancing.[2] A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood; the musick was in the middle of the circle and consisted simply of two large pieces of bamboo with which they struck the ground endways and produced a dead hollow sound, each was managed by one man, who held it nearly in a Virtical position, the upper end was open but the other was closed by one of the joints. In a short time a number of Women, dressed better than Common, came and encircled the men in a kind of dance and joined in the Song; thus they continued for a full half hour, when two elderly women (one on each side, and who seemed to have the management of the whole) brough[t] the others up, dancing, two by two and ranged them before the chief, which ended the dance and the assembly broke up. Both men and Women accompaned the Song with a variety of motions of the hands and snaping of the fingers, which seems to be an essential part of their singing; their voices are however extreemly musical and their actions gracefull and decent, if we except some few which in a English assemb[l]y would be thought otherwise. But these indecent actions few as they are, do not arrise from any wanton ideas, but merely to increase the variety, for it is as[t]onishing to see the number of actions they observe in their dances and songs.[3]

[1] 'I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space space they stood in, could not hold 6000.'—King, 20 May.

[2] 'In return for Capt[n] Cook kindness they Entertained us with a Grand Heeva, or dance, which Surpassed any thing in order & regurallity that can be conceived of Indians.'—Martin, 20 May. These dances by night are very much better described, and at length, by Anderson—and perhaps Cook was relying on him to give the details. See pp. 875–8 below. Mariner, in discriminating between the different sorts of Tongan dance, and after remarking that 'it would be difficult to give a more faithful account than has already been given in Cook's Voyages', notes that 'The night-dance which Captain Cook saw (the *mâ lose folla*) is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied throughout with Tonga songs:' the others coming from Samoa and 'Nuha'.—Mariner, II, pp. 213, 215. The *me'e-laufola* was not specifically a night-dance.

[3] 'in the evening Capt[n] Cook ordered some fire works on shore which were play'd off at dark, to y[e] great entertainment and astonishment of the natives, they, ever grateful for the civilities & Compliments shew'd them, endeavour'd to amuse us for the remainder of the

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The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand *Haiva* or entertainment to which we were all invited. The dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three days for this occasion. Tues. 17

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before mentioned that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance, the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would, I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile. Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

dances, the prelude to which was a band of music or chorus of 18 men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were to be performd. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two sticks, and by that means furnish'd a tone as acute as the first was grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music that a bye stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones made use of.

After continuing for about a quarter of an hour twenty women enter'd the circle most of whom had garlands of the crimson flowers of the China rose[1] or others about their head, and many had cut some other leaves they had about them as ornaments with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus turning their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were repeated alternately, during which time the woman accompanied their song with several very gracefull motions of the hands towards the face and in other directions, at the same time making constantly a step forward and then back again with one foot while the other was fix'd. They then turnd their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body to one part of the circle which was opposite to where some of the principle people sat as spectators in a small hut. One then advanc'd from each side, met and pass'd each other at the front walking round till they came to the rest, on which two advanc'd from each side two of whom pass'd each other and return'd as the former, but the other two remaind & to these came one from each side by intervals till they had again made a circle about the chorus.

Their manner of dancing was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus, but towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they perform'd a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd

[1] Hibiscus.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was that it belongd to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.[1]

The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank, paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen[2] who is a son of Poulahos and is intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

MONDAY 16th. The wind SE? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examind some of the English bread which was found in very good condition. The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a large heap which they call'd Ha'paee[3] on each side. Several also brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o clock they began in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call Mai,[4] the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

[1] An *esi* or 'rest mound'.
[2] The boy called Fatafehi Fuanumuiava.
[3] *'api'api*, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 102, n. 1 above.
[4] *me'e*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

though they have no resemblance to them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood or trunks of a tree from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary siz'd man and some smaller, hollow'd entirely out but close at both ends, and open only by a narrow chink about 3 inches broad running almost its whole length, by which the rest is certainly hollow'd though it must be a difficult task. It is calld Naffa,[1] and with the chink turn'd towards them they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long and as thick as the wrist, with which they produce a rude though loud & powerfull sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance, and also change the tones by beating in the middle or near the end of the instrument. The first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty four men each, who held in their hands a little thin light wooden instrument above two feet long and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle, which they call Pagge.[2] With these they made a great many different motions, such as pointing it towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in the same manner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of others, all which were accompany'd by corrosponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow but quicken'd as the drums beat faster, and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answer'd by the chorus but at the end of a short space they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals above a quarter of an hour, when the rear rank dividing shifted themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same manner till the last regaind its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time.

The second had only two drums with forty men for a chorus, and the dancers or rather actors consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen the other fifteen, with Feenou at their head or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases.

[1] *nafa.* [2] *paki.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for
533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off.

[482] Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to
[534] carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus
[292] to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with
[287] a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well
535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion
293 chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily
535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth
292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any
535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by put-
[321] ting them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a
[391] line as long, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern
[227] of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she
[824] rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the
point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of
[462] which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with
[502] in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which
they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows
much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing
that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes
engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the
men.

534 The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical
[463] reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on.
The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other
but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient
,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and
several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than
[533] six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these,
at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange
they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly
be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not
generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a
hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only
are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close
the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the
other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole
on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same
side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a
pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes
would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this
case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to
serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are
placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play in-
533 differently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which
177 consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem
to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible
of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.
[2] *kali*, pillows.
[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.
[4] The *fangufangu*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

which they were thrown when the Sky Rockets were let off; the immense Height they flew to struck them no less forcibly than seeing fire burn in water, but when the Baloons went off with a horrid Explosion close to their Ears it was hard to say whether their Terror or Surprize was greater. Some of them cryed out 'Matte matte' (ie) that they should be killed & begged that we would put a Stop to every thing, but presently something less terrible drew their Attention; their applause and admiration were expressed by a continual Roar during the whole Exhibition. Some of our attention was drawn off the Fire works to observe the various Passions with which the poor Indians were agitated, they certainly could not have expressed greater Wonder if angels had descended among them in a Storm of Thunder & Lightening, for to them one seem'd as miraculous as the other possibly could. In short every thing appeared to them like Enchantment, what they saw before their Faces they could hardly believe to be real but as something delusive raised by the Power of Magic. Upon the whole they were played off with good Effect & admirably calculated to raise Terror & Surprize among them who never saw such things before.

When the fireworks were over another Entertainment was prepared for us by the Indians which consisted of Dances by the Men & Women. A large Ring was formed by the Natives, those in the inner circle sitting all round it; at proper distances sat five or six Men holding Lights in their Hands, which were bundles of dry Sticks burning at one end & these required constant trimming. A Band of Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part, one beat very briskly with two sticks upon small Reeds of Bamboo Cane, the others had large Canes about 2 yards long open at one end & the other they beat slowly against the Ground, accompanying it with their Voices in which they were joined by many others in the ring; this accompanyment consisted of a Monotone made by repeating the double o three times, as thus o̅o̅-o̅o̅-o̅o̅, the last tone being drawn out longer than the preceding. This, the only vocal music, was repeated the whole time in concert with the Instruments, if they may be called such, & all together formed a plaintive Melody which was not disagreeable. The music was no sooner begun than there advanced into the Ring with a measured Step a Female elegantly dressed with a Chaplet of Flowers on her Head. She was soon followed by near a dozen more dressed in the same manner who all joined together and formed the Dance. It consisted in moving in couples briskly round the ring, springing up & clapping their Hands all together, throwing them by their sides, clapping one hand to the

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a [226] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing [286] & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the Fibres of a Plant[1] & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

These people excell in making baskets, of which they have 3 or 285 four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals[2]—they have other Sorts 391 still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other 412 Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like 301 those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for 306 a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of 237 various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under [531] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time [285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have [531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument 534 called by the Natives Meemeeah,[3] and Drums. The Flute is made [824]

[1] Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

[2] It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.

[3] *mimiha*, Pan-pipe.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

nearly like that of Otaheite & they blow into it through the Nose, but make very indifferent Music of it. The Mimia is made like the Pipe of Pan with nine fistulæ tyed together of different Lengths, they draw them along the Mouth & blow into them, but I never found that they made any thing like music out of them. The Drums are made of large cylindrical Pieces of wood like a Garden roller & excavated, which must cost them much trouble to do with their Tools; a Slit just wide enough to get the Hand in is made from one end to the other & there is no hole at either end, they beat them with 2 Sticks. Other musical Instrum[ts] if such they may be called have been already mentioned in the account of the Dances at Happai. 534

Their carving they execute very neat, this art is chiefly employed by them in ornamenting their Clubs, which they carve all over with the shape of Men, Birds, Dogs & Fish &c. in different parts, and fill up the whole with strait & spiral Lines in various directions & they sometimes inlay them with bone, as they likewise do their Stools that they use for pillows tho' they never carve them, they also carve the handles of fly flaps in the same Manner that they do their Clubs, & they have small sticks carved two of which they put between their fingers & clap together in the same manner that Children in England do with Stones. They have small Images of Men & Birds made of Bone which they sometime[s] wear about their necks as ornaments. They polish their different Manufactures of wood with a file which is made of a piece of wood covered with the Skin of the Shark. 532 [30] [321] [412]

The general appearance of the Island is very beautiful it being entirely covered from one end to the other with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other fruit trees, it is low, there being not a single Hill or any considerable rising Ground upon it; it is long & narrow being about ..... in Length & broad. On advancing into the interior part of the Country nothing can be more pleasing than the appearance of their Houses and Plantations & of the Cocoa nut, breadfruit and Plantain Trees loaded with fruit & the large fields of Yams which are to be met with all over the Island, over which you travel along delightful Lanes between the Wicker Partition of the different inclosures, & here & there is a burying place and a large building much larger than the dwelling Houses, which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances, or as they were situated near the burying places they perhaps perform some Ceremonies in them at their Funerals. There were generally two or three Seats hewn in the Pillars that supported the Building which seemed to be for the reception of the Priests or Chiefs; in these Houses they [237] 133 137 344 [311] [241] [764]

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

5. KING
AT TONGA, MAY–JULY 1777
[*Adm 55/116*]

f. 74 [20 MAY 1777.] Feenow expressing a great desire to see what exibitions we cou'd make, in the morning the Capt[n] order'd the marines from both ships on shore, where they went thro their exercise & shew'd the effects of their guns by aiming at an empty canoe; as canoes were at times passing by the place where they stood, they stop'd fir'ing upon any danger of hurting anyone, nevertheless Feenow bid us continue on, & seem'd totally indifferent at the risk; there was a vast multitude collected together, and the principal people from the neighbouring Islands. I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space they stood in, could not hold 6000. When the marines had given tolerable satisfaction to the natives, we were bid to stay & see one of their dances; it appear'd evident by the care they took of selecting their principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloaths and other ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us. Whilst they were preparing, two more brought into the space what we call a drum, which however has no resemblance to one. It is a cylindrical piece of wood 4 feet long hollow'd in the inside, yet clos'd at both ends, & open only by a small chink of 3 or 4 inches, running nearly its whole length, & about the thickness of a stout man. The chink being towards them, they beat upon this drum with two round sticks about a foot long & the thickness of a walking stick; this makes a coarse, yet loud & powerful sound, and a little varied by striking the middle or end of the trunk....

f. 74v. We all I believe had the feelings of people that were fairly surpass'd when we little expectd it; & the natives seemd to have the consciousness of being superior to us in their amusements & ask'd us if we woud shew them some more of our meia[1] (which is what they call theyr dances): the Captain said he would in the evening, & desir'd the natives to collect themselves & not be absent. Accordingly in the evening some excellent fireworks were got on shore & preparations made to exibit them; as it was not proper to begin till dark many of the Natives began to move off, but the first sky rocket brought them back; few of us had seen such a variety of good fireworks & we shar'd in the pleasure with the natives; but our admiration was cool, while theirs was expressd with a warmth & violence, which our civiliz'd mode of restraining the passions cou'd never equal & hardly conceive; such roaring, jumping, & shouting, as made us perfectly satisfied that we had gaind a compleat victory in their own minds. Sky & water rockets were what affect'd them most, the water rocket exercis'd their inquisitive faculties, for they coud not conceive how fire shoud burn under water. Omai who was always very ready to magnify our country,

[1] *ma's.*

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a tafua, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The tafua was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and haka. Today the fa'ahiula is often performed without tafua percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organization[3] is often 4 or 8. In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the tafua. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (fa'ahi) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the fa'ahiula has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[529] such cases the Tongans rationalize that the words are Samoan, which is the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of fa'ahiula poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organization' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

The performers accompany their movements with singing and a group of men called lolongo also sing. Two or three hollow log gongs called [534] nafa are beaten. The nafa was a log hollowed out in various thicknesses so that when hit in the middle or near the edges different tones were obtained. It is said that the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the nafa while the lesser chiefs danced. During the first half of this century it was often Hopoate (p. 247) who beat the nafa.

Today the word nafa is used in two ways. Nafa is translated by Churchward as "drum" (1959, p. 374) and refers to the skin drum used in ma'ulu'ulu. The indigenous nafa should not be called a drum because it does not have a skin. Most Tongans today do not associate the word nafa with a hollow log gong, but rather with the skin drum [177] used in ma'ulu'ulu. The hollow gong used today in Tonga, mainly as church 'bells,' is called lali and is the Fijian style of log gong.

Me'etu'upaki poetry is untranslatable by present day Tongans, [192] who say that the words are Uvean, Futunan, and Samoan. It is through-composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says, "Tu ki hoki" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most stanzas end with a shout "ia!" at which time paki are raised with a flourish. The poetry structure of a performance of a me'etu'upaki that I witnessed is as follows (for text see Appendix B):

535 There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

114 I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the lakalaka is an
535 evolved form of the ancient dance type me'elaufola. Innovations were
178 dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping
[534] tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary
535 for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was
829 mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan view the lakalaka is a recently created dance genre, and it is credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a punake, 'composer and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malakava. The official view of the government in regard to lakalaka is that it originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga. "The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

535 Lakalaka is performed by men and women together who stand in two or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are

535 533 [534] Music for the ma'ulu'ulu is singing, together with the beating of a modern nafa. This nafa is a section of a metal barrel with both sides covered with cowhide. It is hit with sticks covered on the ends with tapa. From one to four nafa may be used and sometimes they are beaten on both ends. The drummers do not all beat the same rhythm and are free to improvise within a 4-pulse framework, particularly during the section where no singing occurs. Usually one drummer begins and the others join with different rhythms resulting in an intricate-sounding beating. The rhythm produced is similar to that of several women beating tapa. When the drums accompany singing they beat a more regular 4-pulse rhythm.

Singing is done by the dancers. If there is only a small group, a chorus may join in singing, but this is not a necessary part of the performance.

The structure of ma'ulu'ulu is different from lakalaka, although it, too, is divided into three sections. Whereas in lakalaka the three sections are internal divisions in the ta'anga, in ma'ulu'ulu a further three sections are differentiated by singing and not singing.

The first section of ma'ulu'ulu is called haka fakalongolongo, 'silent haka.' The silent here means no singing, for it is during this section that the drums only, in very loud intricate beating, accompany the haka. This vigorous beating and haka lasts for five minutes or more. Haka fakalongolongo uses vigorous staccato movements

585 If we compare the structure of these ma'ulu'ulu with the structure of the previous Tongan genres, we can see that ma'ulu'ulu, though supposedly brought from Samoa has prototypes in indigenous Tongan genres for most of its essential features. Fa'ahiula can be said to be the main prototype for the ma'ulu'ulu genre.

Ma'ulu'ulu like fa'ahiula is primarily a women's sitting dance. Men and women occasionally perform the ma'ulu'ulu together, and it is also said that men sometimes joined in the fa'ahiula (I have not seen this). Performers of fa'ahiula sit in a single curved row. When there is a small number of performers in ma'ulu'ulu, they, too, sit in a single row. When more performers are added, more rows are added and the dance space resembles a combination of fa'ahiula and lakalaka
535 performance. Music associated with both fa'ahiula and ma'ulu'ulu
538 consists of singing by the performers and beating time by one or more
[534] musicians who sit within the curve of the dancers. The nafa has replaced the tafua, and serves the same function. The pulse organ-
[177] isation of both genres is usually in groups of 4. The ma'ulu'ulu is more regular and tends to have a larger pitch range, probably due to
[538] the influence of Western music. In both genres the movements interpret the poetry and are based on the text phrase structure.

535 The structure of fa'ahiula are quite diverse and include the
538 strophic, verse-refrain structure of the ma'ulu'ulu as well as the through-composed structure which has stanzas of different lengths and melodies as some ma'ulu'ulu do. In both cases the function of the

[455 cont.]
175 We likewise
534 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips. It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part, which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
53 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[534] [171] [415] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various other utensils.

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most " Trinesians," so that the test was hardly a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were " boating-songs, odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own : very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, " A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in quality and range ; one bass complained to me that he could sing " only " two octaves really well, from middle C down ; another happily produced *four* octaves, from A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses ; there are, Heaven be praised, no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another " progress " threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the " correct " tunes and harmonies ; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

Postscript.—The suspected original for the first tune to " Tau mai ya " is the plainsong " Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 (" In exitu Israel ") only, and adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at most it could be heard once a month only.

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Andersen, J. C. : " Maori Music," *Polynesian Society Memoir* 10, Wellington 1934. *Famous Maori Songs.* (Beggs, Auckland 1940.) The accompaniments are purely Western, and there is a strong Western Influence in the melodies, but some " level " endings occur, and several with the descending scale.

Burrows, E. G. : *Native Music of the Tuamotus* (Bishop Museum Bulletin 109), Honolulu 1933 ; and " Songs of Uvea and Futuna," *op. cit.* 183, Honolulu 1945. Of exceptional value in that not only are primitive tunes given but also " hybrids " showing Western influence.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary.

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's ornament. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner 1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages. Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant, this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the specimens (plate 5*b*) has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads, which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which resembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose-flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand, the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate 6*a*) and described by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no

A.B. [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections. Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used. The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts, the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving (plate 6a)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167). The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village, who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our understanding of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

A. [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 PLATE 1a. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W.
782 Hodges.
PLATE 1b. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 PLATE 1c. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 PLATE 2a. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 PLATE 2b. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 PLATE 2c. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 PLATE 3a. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 PLATE 3b. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 PLATE 4a. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 PLATE 4b. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 PLATE 5a. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 PLATE 5b. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 PLATE 6a. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 PLATE 6b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7a. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7b. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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PLATE 6a.

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PLATE 6b.

[End Plate 6]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights. 574

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves. 575 462 873 574 264 262 252

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality. 533 534 535 537 201

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration. 177

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to- 621 873 575 462 177

415 /149 cont./
177 have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles.
412 Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but
178 the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the
262 whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the
178 breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

415 Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and
412 cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks,
177 and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still
[264] generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls
415 instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often
177 one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and European refreshing drinks.

177 The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has
352 in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing
405 which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy
534 chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos,
428 of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these
177 cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than
178 the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue
516 to sit crosslegged on the floor.

177 Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be
178 observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings (seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets, lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at present disappearing, and that many European objects have been adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/256 cont./ The natives sang
533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)
534 461

683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,
199 except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)
[461]

687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on
533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives
[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)
[535]

688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)
[194]

689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/257 cont./

533 796 [794] the women and girls) still have a nasal sound. today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church 795 796 533 177 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 794 177 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's "Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the [177] past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers," that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)

/258 cont./

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690. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 172, 201; J. J. Labillardière, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../II. p. 134; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

Long, split bamboo pieces (691)

691. See Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 172; J. J. Labillardière, loc. cit. II. p. 134; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

and hardwood pieces (692)

692. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 329.

were struck with sticks to give the rhythm of the dance. The cylindrical slit-drums called nafa on which, with a rounded beater, gonglike tones of various pitches and tempo were produced, (693)

693. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. PP. 171, 205.

were important especially for the me'etu'upaki dance. In addition, the panpipe and the nose flute were known. The former consisted of eight to ten separate reed pipes of the same or different lengths, which were held together in apparently random order by coconut fiber twine; (694)

694. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 287; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 343.

this instrument seems to have been of no special importance for the [533] music of the Tongans. More important was the nose flute with five holes (made of bamboo) (695)

695. J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 267; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. pp. 343/344; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 332.

with the soft, quiet and somewhat melancholy tones of which certain songs were accompanied. (696)

696. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

[202] The conch shells (with a blowhole struck in) cannot be called musical

/258 cont./

534 [202] instruments; they were used to give signals (as they sometimes are even today).

534 178 [231] The rhythm-stampers, the beating sticks (697)

697. Very occasionally, however, one still sees on plantation land on the small islands two slim trunks lying over a pit; the natives drum on these with two sticks and produce various tones to call the chickens for feeding.

and the nafa slit-drums, as well as the panpipes are today no longer found in Tonga. There are only a very few examples of the nose flute in the Archipelago, and very rarely an aged native will bring out such an instrument and play a few tones on it; (698)

[162] 698. On the island of Nomuka (567 inhabitants), for example, there was only one nose flute in 1952, and its aged female owner was unable to play it; among the people there was only one man who was able to blow a short and incomplete melody on it.

very probably the nose flute, which was apparently seldom used even in Mariner's time (that is, at the beginning of the past century), will soon be forgotten.

534 /259/ To accompany the ma'ulu'ulu dance the Tongans in modern times have made a drum which they call nafa. This instrument that is widespread today has only its name in common with the ancient [177] Tongan nafa, which was a cylindrical slit-drum, for it consists of an old metal can with the bottom and top removed and the resulting open sides stretched with animal skin (of cow, horse or goat). This drum is beaten with sticks that have been made like European [178] [202] kettledrum sticks. To accompany the me'etu'upaki, an old Tongan dance, natives today use, instead of the nafa slit-drum customary in former times, the lali slit-drum, (699)

699. The lali are about 1.60 to 2.00 meters long

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with a diameter of about 40-50 centimeters and a slit-width of about 30 to 40 centimeters. They are pieces of trunk of the fehi (Intsia bijuga), telie (Terminalia species), 'ifi (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb.), feta'u (Calophyllum inophyllum) or kau trees, and are hollowed out in such a way that the body of the drum extends a good handbreadth beyond the side walls that enclose the hollow. The drumsticks are carved in various sizes, usually out of the soft wood of the tuitui tree (Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.). It is possible that the lali was once upon a time borrowed from Fiji.

[177]

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which was originally a signal drum for wartime and still exists in large numbers on the islands and is sometimes still made, for it is used where there are no church bells to call together the church-goers to the services of the various village congregations, and in some places it is used to announce the start of school. At various dances the old drums and other instruments used for rhythm are replaced by ordinary tin cans beaten with sticks.

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177

For the rest, the natives have adopted various European musical instruments. Guitars especially are very popular; (700)

[162]

700. On Nomuka (567 inhabitants) were , for example, about 20 guitars in 1952, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) there were about 12.

they are played almost exclusively by young Tongans for group singing and also to accompany the tau'olunga and hula dances, for example. One seldom sees mandolins or violins. In almost every village today there are also a few mouth organs; the natives like to buy them shortly before Christmas from the shopkeeper and then organize a small mouth-organ orchestra for the holidays. Chiefly in the large towns there are brass bands founded by churches. Using European scores they play on special occasions, for instance at burials and

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[177]

/259 cont./

533 [177] for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time. On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which 534 were 50 years old. Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207] 701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also 538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely. [574] If there is a large festival (katoanga) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/263 cont./

535 take part) in such a way that the men form the left half (as seen
554 from the observer) and the women (girls) the right half; the highest ranking male participant is first in the front men's row (he stands in the center ["juncture"] of the first men-women row), the highest ranking female participant dances beside him--as the first in her row. The best male dancer is the right-hand man of the highest ranking male (corresponding to the best female dancer to the left of the highest ranking female). The quality of the dancers decreases
(565) toward the wings, but the persons at the wing ends are usually skilled nobles.

535 Behind the dance group there often sits a chorus (men and women
533 of random numbers). Songs (715)

> 715. Various texts with various melodies are sung to the laka-laka; usually only newly composed laka-laka are danced.

(534) are the sole accompaniment of the laka-laka. Musical instruments are not used. With manifold, precisely coordinated movements of arms, hands and feet (individual steps in various directions), of the torso, the head, the eyes, the eyebrows and the shoulders, male and female dancers illustrate the contents of the songs sung (about the Queen, the Crown Prince, the chiefs, the beauties of the landscape, the Treaty with England, the World Wars, the automobile and the airplane, etc.). At special achievements the audience breaks in with bravo-shouts (malie!), and after the dance they applaud appreciatively.

535 The laka-laka may be danced at all hours of the day.

The laka-laka in its entirety is doubtless not an ancient Tongan
(797) dance. It is said to have originated from the marching drills of Tongan children in the former mission schools (laka-laka = to march [rapidly]). However, there are probably all kinds of ancient Tongan

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.
[533]

This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably [301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear [292] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over [177] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken [291] feathers). [237]

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each. [533] Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long [534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly [178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than [533] paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the [534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used [178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont,/
535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The eke is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the kailao (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the eke. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) uhi sticks (Evodia hortensis Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The eke may be danced at any time of day.

[534] [178] The eke is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The ula is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear vala and [292] [177] dance shirts made of black tapa (ngatu 'uli) trimmed with black-dyed leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [kofu lou fau] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and vala made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 (533) apparently do not express the contents of the song.

/266/ The me'etu'upaki may be danced at any time of the day.

The me'etu'upaki is an ancient Tongan dance; early European visitors to the Archipelago already reported on it, for at that time it was one of the most important performances of the natives. (719)

719. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 205/206; J. J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 153; E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux...I. p. 293.

535 178 Today this dance is in danger of being forgotten.

To judge by the --albeit fragmentary--historical sources, the me'etu'upaki has by no means been handed down to the present time unchanged. For example, in early times no women and girls took part (533) (534) in it, and the short and thick nafa slit-drum beaten for it (720)

720. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 205.

is today replaced by the lali which is actually a signal slit-drum.

535 mako:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged approximately 20 to 60. Apparently not many Tongans master the mako. It is performed at kava-, birthday-, and wedding getherings, as well as on other festive occasions. Generally, only two or three individuals perform (177) this dance. They wear European clothing.

(533) To the accompaniment of a song (which in the mako, unlike other dances, always has the same melody) sung by the audience (=chorus), the dancers perform similar, mutually coordinated movements (of the arms and the rest of the body, but keep more or less to the same spot), and utter cries and calls (for example: "murderer") which are supposed to terrify the audience.

The mako may be danced at any time of day.

The mako, which resembles a war dance (and perhaps once was one),

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side being much worn away from continual beating. Although the sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot. As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, "Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, "Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone. After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace, as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty, very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes, with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were presented. There were present on this occasion a number of Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-chamber—a small room divided by a mat-partition from the one in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats, and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube," or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it, I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance, but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-